HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXVI JANUARY, 1933 NUMBER 1

LUKE AND MARK: WITH A DISCUSSION OF STREETER'S THEORY

MAURICE GOGUEL

FACULTÉ DE THÉOLOGIE PROTESTANTE, AND ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES, PARIS

I

WITHIN the theory of two sources, Mark and Q, by which most modern critics explain the composition and interrelations of the Synoptic Gospels, certain questions still remain unanswered which deserve attention in spite of the present tendency to study the history of the tradition rather than the composition of the gospels.[1]

One of these questions is that of the special sources of the Gospel of Luke. In the elements peculiar to the Third Gospel, two considerations have inclined many critics to assume a source used by Luke alone. The first is Luke's method of grouping in two masses (Lk. 6, 1—8, 3 and 9, 51—18, 14) the pieces which have no equivalent in Mark. When the first of these is introduced into Mark's sequence (after Mk. 3, 19), Luke, in picking up again the thread of Mark with the parable of the sower (Mk. 4, 1–9), is found to have left out three pericopes found in Mark 3, 20–35 (the Beelzebub accusation, Jesus' reply, the incident and saying about his family). To all three of these, however, he gives equivalents elsewhere (Lk. 11, 14–23; 8, 19–21). The second mass (Lk. 9, 51—18, 14) is still more evidently an insertion into the structure of Mark's narrative, and is framed between Mark 9, 38–41 (the outside exorcist, Lk. 9, 49–50) and Mark 10, 13–16 (the blessing of little children, Lk. 18, 15–17). Between these two Markan pericopes there occur in Mark three pieces which have no

[1] In order to keep this essay within bounds, I shall not discuss or even summarize the various theories as to the special sources of Luke, nor the various interpretations of the facts dealt with.

equivalent here in Luke: the sayings about offences (Mk. 9, 42–48), those about salt (Mk. 9, 49–50), and the discussion of divorce (Mk. 10, 1–12). The omission, to be sure, is easily accounted for in each case. The first two pieces have their equivalents in Luke 17, 1–2 and 14, 34–35, passages which are parallel to Matthew and therefore to be assigned to the source Q. The third piece Luke was able to omit because in 16, 18 (also after Q, being parallel to Mt. 5, 32) he had already given a saying of Jesus on divorce, and because Mark was presenting the question from the Jewish point of view, which would not be of interest to Luke's gentile Christian readers. It is nevertheless a striking fact, hardly due to chance coincidence, that the two great masses peculiar to Luke should both be inserted at points where Markan pericopes are left out. From the blessing of the children to the end of Mark's story Luke follows the narrative of Mark, with certain omissions and additions of which the most important will be noticed later.

This procedure of Luke with regard to the two masses naturally suggests that he found the material composing them already grouped, or at least took the two masses from the same source or tradition (or from the same group of sources or traditions) and merely had to seek a suitable place for inserting them so as to enrich his narrative mainly drawn from Mark.

In a certain number of passages peculiar to Luke, a so-called Ebionite tendency is discerned, and Jesus here does appear more definitely hostile to riches than in Mark or Matthew. So in the Lukan form of the Beatitudes (6, 20–24), in the designation of money as "unrighteous mammon" (16, 9–11), in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (16, 19–25). Here nothing stamps the rich man as particularly bad or Lazarus as good; the theme is the popular one, perhaps of Pythagorean origin,[2] of the reversal of conditions in the other world.

These two points, Luke's grouping of his peculiar material and the Ebionite tendency discernible in it, have often led to the assumption of a special source used by him alone. This opinion I do not consider well founded.

[2] Isidore Lévy, La légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine, Paris, 1927, pp. 170 ff.; 310 ff.

As to the first point, sufficient account is not taken of the lack of unity in the masses, especially in the second mass (Lk. 9, 51—18, 14), and of the fact that a number of the component passages come from Q, as is shown by their parallels in Matthew. Mark and Luke cannot properly be compared without taking into consideration also the Gospel of Matthew as a third term. Furthermore, it must be remembered that, apart from the two masses, Luke differs from Mark on other points also. If Luke was merely seeking to enrich his predecessor's narrative, why should he sometimes have taken pains to alter the structure of Mark's account as little as possible in introducing his new material, and sometimes, as in the rejection at Nazareth, have substituted an entirely different story for that of Mark, or, as in the cycle of the feeding, have completely suppressed a whole series of events?

The argument from the so-called Ebionite tendency of Luke is no more cogent. Take for example the Beatitudes in Luke. A comparison with Matthew's form shows such points of resemblance as to forbid the idea that the two sets are independent of one another; yet the relation between them must be indirect, for if Matthew had used Luke, or Luke's immediate source, he would have had no reason for leaving out the Woes; while if Luke had known the text of Matthew, he would have had no reason for not giving in his gospel all the Beatitudes that he found there. It is still more important that the Beatitudes have very different sense in the two gospels. In Matthew, they are promises of reward for certain virtues or moral attitudes. In Luke, where their meaning is further defined by the Woes, they declare a reversal of condition and promise compensation [3] for those who suffer in the present world and torment for those who are favored here. It is the same theme as in the rich man and Lazarus. The common source of the two evangelists had already, when it came into their hands,

[3] The text in Lk. 6, 20 reads ὑμετέρα ἐστίν, in the present, but the Aramaic word expresses both present and future, and the use of the future in all the other Beatitudes requires the future here. That both Luke and Matthew have the present tense in this one Beatitude is evidence of the early decline of eschatological interest. In Lk. 6, 24 the meaning is, 'Ye have now your allotted portion of happiness.'

undergone development which had produced appreciable differences in its various forms.

Did the Beatitudes originally have the sense which Luke gives them or that which we find in Matthew?[4] Several points should be noted here: (1) In Luke the Beatitudes have an entirely homogeneous sense; in Matthew it is not so, at any rate, Matthew's "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted," imports a reversal of condition, not reward.[5] (2) So with the form of the Beatitudes. In Luke they are in the second person; in Matthew (except in the last one, "When men shall revile you and persecute you") in the third. (3) In Matthew the additional words "in spirit" (5, 3) and "after righteousness" (5, 6) substitute the idea of reward for that of compensation. For "in spirit" this is made plain by both Matthew (11, 5) and Luke (7, 22), for in both the promise of the Kingdom of God is expressly to the poor: πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται. (4) In Luke, although the Beatitudes and Woes form the opening passage of the Sermon in the Plain, they have no organic connection with the sayings that follow, on loving one's enemies and on judging. In Matthew, at the head of a sermon carefully compiled from various sayings, the Beatitudes are a sort of declaration of principles, and their original sense has probably been somewhat altered in working them over to adapt them to this purpose.

If Luke's form of the Beatitudes is thus the more primitive, their supposed Ebionite tendency need not be due to the particular group from which they reached him. This supposed Ebionite tendency in Luke may well reveal, here and elsewhere, an aspect of Jesus' own thought, partly effaced in the later tradition. Indeed it is in Mark that we find the severest condemnation of the rich in the whole gospel tradition (Mk. 10, 25).

These considerations led me, in my *Introduction aux Évangiles synoptiques* (1923), to discard the theory of a special, homogeneous source for Luke and to assume that his work was limited to the use of Q together with a number of traditions organically

[4] It is not likely, however, that one evangelist has preserved in his rendering the form and meaning exactly, while all the changes are due to the other.

[5] This is true in a measure also of "Blessed are the persecuted" and "Blessed are ye when men revile you" (5, 10–11).

unrelated to one another and of various origins, which he introduces into Mark's narrative as his principal source.[6]

At about the same date, Streeter's important work on the origin of the gospels appeared in England,[7] with new views on the formation of the Gospel of Luke. His theory has won some degree of recognition, especially in his own country.[8] According to it, for the theory of two sources in Luke we should substitute a theory of three sources, and find in Luke, not a revised and enriched edition of Mark, but a combination of a Proto-Luke,[9] quite independent of Mark, with certain groups of Markan passages.

Streeter's first argument is drawn from the passion narrative. Luke gives here certain incidents not found in Mark or Matthew, such as the appearance of Jesus before Herod (23, 6–12) and the lamentation of the women who accompany Jesus to the place of crucifixion (23, 27–31). The relation of Luke to Mark, argues Streeter, is in this portion of the narrative different from what it is elsewhere,[10] and also very different from that of Matthew to Mark. The additions to Mark introduced by Matthew (for in Matthew it is only a question of additions) are easily distinguished as embellishments upon the framework of Mark; for instance, Pilate's wife's dream (Mt. 27, 19); Pilate washing his hands (27, 24–25); the guard at the sepulchre (27, 62–66). On the other hand, the elements peculiar to Luke are, Streeter holds, an integral part of the narrative and cannot be explained as a mere literary development of the story, or as borrowed from allied traditions. Hence he concludes that we must reverse the ordinary hypothesis, and assume, not that

[6] Maurice Goguel, Introduction au Nouveau Testament, I, Les évangiles synoptiques, Paris, 1925, pp. 494 ff.

[7] B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, a Study of Origins, treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship and Dates, London, 1924; 3rd edition, 1927.

[8] It has been especially accepted and justified with new arguments by Vincent Taylor, Behind the Third Gospel: a Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis, Oxford, 1926.

[9] Or, more exactly, a Proto-Luke already enlarged with elements taken from Q.

[10] Streeter (p. 202) counts up that in the other parts of the gospel common to Mark and Luke, 53 per cent of the words in Luke are Mark's, whereas in the passion narrative the proportion is only 27 per cent.

Luke rewrote and embellished the story of Mark, but that he followed another tradition and inserted in it certain elements taken from the Second Gospel.

A further argument is based on Luke 6, 20—8, 3,[11] with its mass of material foreign to Mark.[12] In particular Streeter considers the anointing by the woman in Luke 7, 36–50 to be quite different from the anointing at Bethany of Mark 14, 3–9, and holds that Luke's preference for the Galilean over the Judaean episode implies that he deemed his own source to carry greater authority than Mark's gospel. Streeter makes similar observations on what he calls the "central section" (Lk. 9, 51—18, 14), in which Luke has made no use of Mark.[13]

Thus there are three sections of Luke, two of which are entirely and one partially independent of Mark. If we leave out the passion story, which it is difficult to appraise exactly because the elements derived from Mark are so intimately combined with the others, we have in the two sections 6, 20—8, 3 and 9, 51—18, 14 respectively, 82 and 350 verses, a total of 432 verses, or more than a third (37.6 per cent) of the 1149 verses of Luke. If we include all that belongs specifically to Luke in the passion story and elsewhere, we shall find that at least one half and perhaps considerably more of Luke is not derived from Mark. For the origin of this half Streeter would look to a single document, which he calls "Proto-Luke" and considers to be a combination of Q[14] with an exclusively Lukan source that he would designate by the letter L.[15]

Since Streeter is aware that his thesis would be very insecure if it rested on a Proto-Luke consisting only of the three sections

[11] This section comprises the Sermon in the Plain and the succeeding incidents as far as the parable of the two debtors and the mention of the attendant women. Up to this point Luke had followed Mark closely except in the case of the rejection at Nazareth (4, 16–30) and the calling of the first disciples (5, 1–11).

[12] A minor resemblance (Lk. 6, 38 = Mk. 4, 24) is probably due to a common dependence on Q.

[13] The few resemblances to Mark in this section of Luke are due, according to Streeter, to the existence of parallel elements in Q and Mark. It seems more natural to suppose that in these places Mark and Luke both depend on Q. However, for our purpose, the two explanations are equivalent.

[14] He believes that Q was composed at Antioch about the year 50.

[15] This he believes was composed at Caesarea about the year 60.

so far discussed, he reënforces it, on the one hand with part of the introduction to the gospel [16] (3, 1—4, 30),[17] and on the other with the accounts of the appearances of the risen Christ. In the introductory fragment (3, 1—4, 30), he finds the same characteristics as in 6, 20—8, 3 and 9, 51—18, 14, that is, pieces common to Matthew and Luke, which must be assigned to Q, are found side by side with those peculiar to Luke (from source L).

In view of the importance of this element, Q + L, greater in extent than what he calls the "Marcan blocks," Streeter regards Luke as constructed, not like Matthew by embellishing Mark's narrative with material partly from Q, partly from special sources, but by enlarging a Proto-Luke, which was the principal source, by the addition of groups of passages taken from Mark. He professes to adhere to the system of two sources, with the hypothetical Q common to Matthew and Luke and separate from Mark, but he thinks that Luke used this Q for our Gospel of Luke only after Q had been combined with L. The author of L was Luke himself, the companion of Paul, who gathered the materials for it during the two years of the Apostle's captivity in Caesarea. Then, some years later, the same author composed Proto-Luke by combining his primitive work, apparently a mere set of notes, with Q, the two together constituting "a kind of gospel," somewhat longer than Mark, about one third of it coming from Q. Still later he enlarged his book by adding the first two chapters and the Markan blocks. These conjectures — or "suggestions" as he terms them — as to the author of the three stages in the genesis of the Gospel of Luke are not an essential part of the theory, as Streeter himself remarks, and can therefore be disregarded.[18]

[16] Streeter considers that the first two chapters of Luke do not come from Proto-Luke, but from a special source.

[17] From Lk. 3, 1 to the end of chapter 4, Luke follows Mark almost exactly; then he gives the story of the miraculous draft of fishes (5, 1–11), which partly corresponds to Mark (1, 16–20); thereafter, from 5, 12 to 6, 19, he follows Mark again.

[18] I shall not discuss Streeter's argument from an analogy between the composition of the Third Gospel and that of the Book of Acts. His view is that Luke first wrote out a diary of travel and later incorporated it in his history. For two reasons we cannot draw inferences as to the gospel from the composition of Acts: (1) In Acts we are limited to the uncertain results of internal analysis. (2) In writing Acts the author had no

If Streeter's theory were well founded, it would give us, at many points of the gospel history, two witnesses largely independent of one another, where at present, in the last analysis, we have but one. But can his theory be considered well founded?

A first question arises. What value has the theory that Q was already combined with the hypothetical L before being used as a part of our Gospel of Luke? We can only conjecture the character of either Q or L, and know nothing certain as to what combinations of them were possible; but as to the limits to be assigned to Q, one thing is to be said. It is by no means clear that Q contained only the material found in Matthew and Luke but not in Mark. A part of what is found in all three gospels probably came from it, as in the case of the parables. Further, there are elements in both Matthew and Luke so closely connected with what unquestionably belongs to Q that they must have the same origin — for example, the Woes of Luke, which cannot be separated from his Beatitudes. Finally, there are passages found only in Matthew or in Luke which, by their structure, character, or content, seem with more or less probability to be derived from Q. Hence it is not safe to infer, as Streeter does, that every narrative or didactic piece that is found only in Luke must come from a source peculiar to him. There is also a whole series of passages on which Streeter relies, but which must be eliminated because probably, sometimes almost certainly, they too come from Q.[19] Consequently, the basis for the theory of Proto-Luke and of the source L is much reduced, and Streeter's argument from the quantitative importance of the material peculiar to Luke loses much of its cogency.

There do remain, however, a number of passages peculiar to

model, while for the gospel a literary type was already established. It would be interesting to see how far the same editorial methods can be traced in the two books, but the study would have to begin with the gospel, not with Acts.

[19] Among the pieces peculiar to Luke the origin of which should be sought in Q, we note the following: 7, 40–43; 10, 1–20; 10, 20–37; 11, 5–8; 11, 27–28; 12, 13–21; 12, 47–48; 13, 6–9; 14, 28–33; 15, 8–10; 15, 11–32; 16, 1–8; 17, 7–10; 17, 20–35; 18, 1–8; 18, 9–14. These sixteen passages include at least ten parables.

Luke which, because of the character of their narrative or for other reasons, cannot be attributed to Q. In each such case we must inquire, first, whether the tradition from which the passage comes is really independent of Mark's tradition or is only a more or less extensive elaboration of it. Next we must inquire whether the passages which belong to distinct tradition can be derived from a single ultimate source. And finally we have to consider the way in which they are inserted, and to ask whether the structure of Luke's narrative, compared with that of Mark, shows the influence of a systematic narrative, or is more simply explained as the result of inserting into the framework of Mark certain disconnected stories.

Streeter, we may note, has simplified his problem and unduly limited his data by leaving Matthew out of account and comparing Luke with Mark alone. In the many instances where Luke departs from Mark in the same sense as Matthew, though not to the same degree or in precisely the same way, we have no right to assume a cause peculiar to Luke and not present for Matthew. In such cases we do not need to think of any other source for Luke than Q, or any other influence than the play of the forces which tended to adapt the gospel tradition to the situation of the church with its current ideas and interests.

From these observations as to method, we turn to examine the principal texts on which Streeter supports his theory.

He finds the beginning of Proto-Luke in the notice of John the Baptist in Luke 3, 1–6, which is not exactly like either Mark 1, 1–6 or Matthew 3, 1–6, the differences being as follows:

(1) It begins with a series of synchronisms (vss. 1–2).

(2) It assigns to the wilderness the calling of John only, and for his ministry brings him to the country about Jordan.

(3) It agrees with Mark and Matthew in saying that John preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, but does not add that he actually baptized the penitents in the Jordan, confessing their sins.

(4) The quotation from Isaiah (Is. 40, 3–5) is given more fully than in Mark and Matthew (Is. 40, 3 only).

(5) It contains no description of John's manner of life.

That these divergences prove Luke's notice to be independent of the other two, whereas one third of its text is the same as theirs, I cannot admit.

(1) A chronological note, in harmony with the declaration of Luke's prologue, is entirely appropriate here, for after the first two introductory chapters the real beginning of the narrative is the proper place for the statement of what he has gathered of this nature. These synchronisms need not previously have had any organic relation to what Luke says about John. Indeed most critics think that he meant them to apply to the baptism of Jesus rather than to the calling of John.

(2) That Luke speaks of the calling of John and not of his ministry as taking place in the wilderness is due to the chronological note, which had to relate to an event at a definite moment, and could not apply to John's ministry, extending as it did over months or even years. And Luke may well have thought that a crowd of auditors could not have gathered about John while still in the wilderness. A detail which betrays the writer's distance from these events is that in fact the country about Jordan, the *περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, to which John is supposed to have come after his calling, is the same as the *arabah*, the *ἔρημος*, in which Luke says that John heard the word of God.

(3) That Luke states (vs. 3) that John preached the baptism of repentance but not that he himself baptized, is due to his feeling that he ought to report what John's preaching was, before saying that he baptized. Farther on (vs. 21) he does refer to the baptizing. If he does not state that those who were baptized confessed their sins, that is perhaps in order to diminish the difficulty which Christian thought found in the fact of Jesus' receiving a baptism of repentance and of the forgiveness of sins.

(4) As for the quotation from Isaiah, that implies no other source than the Septuagint.

(5) As to Luke's omitting to describe John's mode of life, it is known that a very early interpretation, found even in the Gospel of the Ebionites,[20] transformed into a vegetable the

[20] In a fragment of this gospel preserved by Epiphanius (Haer. 30, 9), it is said that John the Baptist was fed, not on locusts (*ἀκρίδες*) and wild honey, but on wild honey which tasted like manna, or like a fritter (*ἐγκρίς*) cooked in oil.

locusts that John ate, in the interest of a vegetarian asceticism.[21] If Luke knew of this tendency, may he not have tried to discourage it by omitting the detail on which it depended? [22]

The text of Luke in this passage is thus best understood as an elaboration of that of Mark, with the addition merely of a chronological note which was a natural fruit of his historical researches.

The opposite view, namely that in Luke 3, 1–6 the evangelist used a source not used by Mark or Matthew, encounters two insurmountable obstacles. First, it does not account for the verbal likenesses between Luke and the parallel texts; secondly, both John's preaching of repentance and his messianic prophecy are identical in Luke (3, 7–9 and 15–18) and Matthew (3, 7–10 and 11–12),[23] but neither of these passages would be intelligible without some general notice of John the Baptist. Surely, Luke would not have taken his report of the utterances of John from the same source as Matthew and drawn the general notice from a different source. The Baptist's instructions to various groups, which Luke alone gives (3, 10–14), do not point to a special source. They are an elaboration of the exhortation common to Luke and Matthew (3, 8), "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance," and cannot be dissociated from it. Luke may himself have composed them, or they may come from the common source and have been omitted by Matthew in order to attribute to John only the negative preaching of repentance and to reserve positive instruction for Jesus to give. The notice of the imprisonment of John (Lk. 3, 19–20) must have formed the conclusion of the story of John in the original source, for it is here followed immediately by the episode of the baptism of Jesus, in which John is still at liberty,

[21] H. Grégoire, 'Les sauterelles de Saint Jean-Baptiste,' Byzantion, V, 1929–30, pp. 109–128.

[22] It should be noted that the difference in the places where the notice of John's mode of life occurs in the first two gospels does not invalidate the theory that it was a later insertion in each.

[23] Except for the introduction, Lk. 3, 15–16a, made necessary by the preceding insertion of moral admonitions (3, 10–14). The peculiarity of this introduction, namely the hearers' suspicion that John is the Christ, has its point as against certain of John's disciples, and reveals a situation similar to that implied in the Fourth Gospel. This seems to be a late situation, apparently unknown to Mark and Matthew.

and which therefore must have had a different source.[24] Luke apparently did not observe the resulting anomaly; Matthew and Mark avoided it by omitting any direct statement of the imprisonment, though they refer to it in connection with Jesus' return to Galilee (Mt. 4, 12; Mk. 1, 14).

The genealogy of Jesus given by Luke (3, 23–28) is entirely independent of that in Matthew (1, 1–16), and the strange place that it occupies, between the baptism and the temptation, suggests that he found it as a separate piece, not as part of a general account.

Luke makes the coming of Jesus to Nazareth (4, 16–30) the inauguration of his activities in Galilee, but the scene in the synagogue is immediately preceded by a statement of his successful preaching throughout Galilee. That this stands in no organic relation to the scene at Nazareth shows clearly the hand of a redactor, and is not favorable to Streeter's theory that the preaching at Nazareth belongs to Luke's principal source. In this familiar episode what seems at first a story of Jesus' success turns out to be one of failure. Luke does not explain the change of the congregation from enthusiastic acceptance to hostile wrath, nor what led Jesus to utter his provocative words. Moreover, the stories of the miracles at Capernaum to which he alludes have not yet been told, and even if these were covered by the general allusion to his work in Galilee in vss. 14–15, it is unnatural for Luke to refer in this way to something still unknown to his readers. The scene at Nazareth must originally have come after the events at Capernaum, for instance, Luke 4, 31–41; 5, 1–11. 17–36.

These two anomalies in Luke's story are explained by the accounts of the same scene given by Mark (6, 1–6) and Matthew (13, 53–58).[25] In Mark the people of Nazareth hear Jesus with

[24] This is confirmed by the fact that the statements about John the Baptist seem to have been conceived originally from the point of view of John and his disciples, and in all probability come from a baptist circle; while the story of Jesus' baptism is conceived from the point of view of Jesus, and certainly proceeds from a Christian circle.

[25] Matthew's slight and unimportant differences from Mark here will be mentioned later.

surprise rather than admiration, since they know him and his family. In the presence of open opposition he declares that a prophet cannot be honored in his own country, and the story comes to an abrupt ending, the original meaning of which is clear.[26] The final sentence, *καὶ ἐθαύμασεν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν* (6, 6), is noteworthy because the construction of *θαυμάζειν* with *διά*, although found in some classical writers, does not occur in hellenistic Greek nor elsewhere in the New Testament. Matthew (13, 58) gives a slightly different conclusion, and the common source of the two may be restored as, 'And he could not do any miracle there because of their unbelief.' That Jesus' miraculous power is made to depend on the attitude of those among whom he was, must have given offence at an early stage; Matthew and Mark [27] softened it each in his own way, Mark by inserting a mention of a few cures performed and then making the phrase *διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν*, thus left in the air, depend on a new verb *ἐθαύμασεν*, Matthew by introducing the idea that Jesus did "not many" miracles here, and so implying that he could have performed more if he had seen fit.

Another point at which Mark seems to have altered the form of the tradition is in 6, 2b, in the phrase which states the wonder of the people of Nazareth at Jesus' wisdom and at his miracles. Now apparently Jesus had not performed any miracles at all among them, and if his reputation elsewhere had come to their knowledge they could scarcely have been surprised to hear him teach. They refuse to believe in him, instead of seeing in his powers a proof of his divine mission, because they know him. If we omit verse 2b, as having been introduced to relieve the harshness of this fact, the episode becomes simple and clear. When Jesus preached in the synagogue, the Nazarenes refused to admit his authority or to believe in him, and he could not perform any miracle among them.[28]

[26] See Maurice Goguel, 'Le rejet de Jésus à Nazareth,' Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XII, 1911, pp. 321–324.

[27] Or rather, a later reviser of Mark, for the difference of Matthew's correction from Mark's suggests that he did not have our text of Mark.

[28] Another reason for thinking that there was once a simpler form of the episode at Nazareth than the one we read in Mark, is furnished by the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 4, 45 ff.). At the beginning of the second sojourn in Galilee, after Jesus has passed through

Luke shows a further modification. Mark makes the people speak of Jesus' miracles before they had seen or heard of them; accordingly Luke makes Jesus refer to the miracles of Capernaum before he describes them in his own narrative. The expanded story of Nazareth and the quotation from Isaiah must be attributed to Luke himself, since no reason appears why Mark should suppress them while it is easy to see why Luke, making this the opening scene of Jesus' ministry, should wish to give a concrete idea of his preaching.

Did this Nazareth episode originally stand at the beginning of the Galilean ministry, where Luke puts it, or appreciably later? Mark understood the scene as a rebuff to Jesus, and may have taken it out of its original position, disregarding the tradition, in order to use it in the series of increasingly serious failures through which he brings his story up to the final crisis. It would seem to us natural that Jesus should begin his preaching in his native village. On the other hand, the additions made by Luke and his wish to open the Galilean ministry with a striking scene are reasons for thinking that he may have deliberately altered Mark's arrangement, especially since he did not succeed in removing all traces of the process.

There is thus no reason to suppose that Luke had any other source than Mark for his account of Jesus' preaching at Nazareth. The hypothesis of a Proto-Luke, or of any special source, is superfluous, and therefore to be rejected.

Another episode peculiar to Luke in the first part of the Galilean ministry is the miraculous draft of fishes in Luke 5, 1–11, where it is preceded not only by the first preaching at Nazareth but also by the so-called day at Capernaum. In

Samaria, we read: "For Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honor in his own country. So when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the feast; for they also went unto the feast." Presently (vs. 48), in the healing of the nobleman's son at Capernaum, a sentence is inserted which does not square with its context and must belong to the account of the reception of Jesus in Galilee: "Jesus therefore said unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe." This could not be addressed to the nobleman, whose appeal to Jesus for his son had not been made to test the prophet's power. It belongs to a tradition that the Galileans wanted to see Jesus support his authority on miracles, and that he refused. This would correspond to Mark's tradition, but is simpler in form.

the story in Luke, the way in which James and John are mentioned is at once noticeable. Although they are termed (vs. 10) "partners with Simon," yet in the preceding part of the same sentence (vs. 9) we find a mention merely of "all that were with him." Evidently here is an addition from a story in which James and John were called at the same time with Peter. That is what we find in Mark 1, 16–20, where the words of Jesus to Simon and Andrew (Mk. 1, 17)[29] are similar to the saying to Simon in Luke 5, 10.

Another feature of Mark's gospel must here be noted, namely the context given to the series of parables in chapter 4. Just as in Luke 5, 1–3, Jesus, finding himself on the shore of the lake and pressed by the crowd, enters a boat and preaches from it (Mk. 4, 1–8). When evening comes, without leaving the boat, he goes over to the other side of the lake (Mk. 4, 35–36). Luke does not have this incident of the boat in this connection, although, at a point corresponding to Mark's chapter 4, he gives a large part of the same parabolic material (Lk. 8, 4–18).

Thus of the three elements of the incident told by Luke in 5, 1–11, two (Jesus' preaching from the boat and the calling of Peter with the characteristic expression, "Thou shalt catch men") are closely paralleled at different points in Mark. The coincidence of such striking details excludes the idea of a completely independent tradition used by Luke. His reason for combining the two details, separated in Mark, is not far to seek. Mark's scheme for his chapter 4 is somewhat inconsistent. He does not state that Jesus left the boat, yet we read of a series of conversations alone with the disciples, who can hardly have been in the boat with him.[30] Luke may for that reason have omitted mention of the boat in connection with the parables, though he uses the scene with the boat elsewhere.

The idea of the miraculous draft of fishes, though peculiar to Luke, is perhaps not so foreign to Mark's story as it seems at first sight, for it is only an illustration of the saying about

[29] Repeated, without important variation, in Matt. 4, 18–22.

[30] Mark 4, 36 seems to mean (rather obscurely) that the disciples did not join Jesus in the boat until evening, when it was time to cross to the other side. The last clause, "and other boats were with him," seems to indicate that the editor thinks a single boat could not hold Jesus and his disciples.

fishers of men, and symbolic of the future activity of the apostles. The amplification need not be the work of Luke himself. At any rate, the fact that it is not totally independent of the Markan tradition is enough to render the theory of a Proto-Luke here superfluous.

That Luke puts the calling of the disciples at a later point in the story than Mark, does not imply a separate source, but only a desire not to seem to contradict Mark. Two similar cases may be cited. The first is the pericope in which the Law is summed up in the two commandments of love. In Mark (12, 28–31) and Matthew (22, 34–40) the words are spoken by Jesus in reply to a question from a scribe, who expresses his approval; in Luke (10, 25–28) they are spoken by the scribe and then approved by Jesus. Here Luke clearly has the earlier tradition, for it would be easy to attribute to Jesus what had been approved by him, but quite unnatural to transfer his own words to the mouth of the scribe, who, according to Matthew, was trying to set a trap for him. In making this correction Luke has shown his consideration for Mark by putting the passage in a different context, where it is not especially suitable.[31] A second example is the notice of the women at the crucifixion and at the sepulchre. Mark (15, 40) names Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the Less and Joses, and Salome, who also, when he was in Galilee, had followed him and ministered unto him.[32] Luke (23, 49) says "the women who had followed him from Galilee." This seems merely another way of saying the same thing, but if we turn to Luke 8, 1–3, we see that Luke had a different tradition as to the women who witnessed the death and burial of Jesus and discovered the empty

[31] The pericope of the great commandment evidently refers to a public incident, but in Luke it follows immediately, introduced only by *καί*, upon the return of the seventy (Lk. 10, 17–24), with only the disciples present. This latter piece itself lacks organic unity, if the text is to be accepted which introduces both vs. 22 and vs. 23 by the formula, "and turning to his disciples he said." This is a case of mere juxtaposition with the next pericope; the evangelist has tried to establish a connection with the pericope of the good Samaritan (10, 29–37) by making this the reply to the question asked by the scribe, "wishing to justify himself." But no occasion for self-justification is indicated, and the parable answers a different question from the scribe's.

[32] It is not important here that the names are not exactly the same in Mark (15, 47 and 16, 1) and in Matthew (27, 56).

tomb, for in chapter 8 he names "Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna, the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others." In the scene at the sepulchre he makes the correction of Mark's tradition so discreetly that the difference is not noticed. These two examples, it seems to me, corroborate the view that Luke altered the position of the calling of Peter in order to lessen the appearance of disagreement with Mark.

In the section, Luke 6, 20—8, 3, comprising passages foreign to Mark, two pieces, 6, 20—7, 10 and 7, 18–35, that is, 58 verses out of 83, are derived from Q, as is proved by the direct parallels in the text of Matthew. The remainder consists of three passages peculiar to Luke: (1) the raising of the widow's son of Nain (7, 11–17), (2) the anointing of Jesus by the woman that was a sinner (7, 36–50), (3) the names of the women who followed and served Jesus (8, 1–3). The first of these passages is isolated, lying between two passages from Q; the second and third are merely in juxtaposition, with no organic connection, although at least the third shows by its position an editorial purpose to prepare for the later mention of the women at the crucifixion and the sepulchre.

The raising at Nain has no equivalent, direct or indirect, in Mark. As for the episode of the anointing of Jesus, Luke's account places it in Galilee, makes the woman a sinner, and shows no allusion to Jesus' death; whereas in Mark the scene is Bethany, the woman is not a sinner, and the story is plainly a prophecy of Jesus' burial and even of the funerary anointing. Yet in spite of these differences the two accounts are related; they seem to come from the same archetype developed in two different directions, although neither is derived from the other. Luke's story of the anointing belongs peculiarly to him, but the parable of the two debtors (7, 40–43) which he incorporates into it may have its origin in Q.

As to the position which these two scenes occupy in Luke's narrative, the story of the young man of Nain, a resurrection theme, naturally follows that of the healing of the centurion's servant at the point of death, with its kindred theme, and both

stories lead up to Jesus' declaration to the envoys of John the Baptist: "the dead are raised" (7, 22). The episode of anointing cannot have been inserted in this position with the purpose of seeming not to contradict Mark, for, as we shall see, the Bethany version of the story probably was not included in that form of Mark's gospel which Luke used. We may suppose that Luke, having interrupted his use of Mark by inserting Q-material, took occasion to introduce here other extraneous matter.

It thus appears that in the whole section of Luke from 3, 1 to 8, 4, in which Streeter finds weighty support for his theory, only three passages (the raising at Nain, the anointing, and the names of the women, twenty-five verses in all) are from a tradition peculiar to Luke. There is no organic connection between these, and therefore no evidence of unity of origin.

Streeter's "central section" (9, 51—18, 4) is Luke's longest series of non-markan pericopes. In examining it we shall leave out of account all those elements which can for any reason be attributed to Q. The first pericope in this series is that of Samaritans who would not receive Jesus on his way to Jerusalem (9, 51–56). The Markan pericope immediately preceding is that of the exorcist in the name of Jesus who was not of his company (Lk. 9, 49–50). In both these the same lesson is taught. Jesus rebukes the use of violence by his disciples toward non-disciples. This explains why Luke brought in the story of the Samaritan village at this point, and it was natural that, having made a break in the text of Mark, he should introduce at the same place a series of non-markan pericopes. In the episode of the Samaritan village it is definitely indicated (vs. 51) that Jesus' journey is a voluntary march to death, and this is a relatively late conception, resting on a dogmatic interpretation. Jesus has left Galilee and seems to have started for Jerusalem, but the sequel does not carry out this idea, and Luke does not regard the incident of the Samaritan village as occurring on such a journey. Twice again, in 13, 31–33 and 17, 11, the departure from Galilee for Judaea is expressly mentioned, and yet several later passages represent Jesus as still in Galilee and not on the point of leaving. The second peri-

cope of the series, that of the three would-be disciples (9, 57–62), begins with the words "as they went in the way," which seem again to imply a journey, but the situation is different, for here Jesus is engaged in a continuous activity, and not merely passing through Samaria.

The mission of the seventy (Lk. 10, 1–16) is certainly a doublet of the mission of the twelve (9, 1–6), which is paralleled in Mark (6, 6–13) and Matthew (9, 35—10, 25).[33] The difference in the numbers merely serves to differentiate two stories the fundamental identity of which Luke failed to recognize. Here is a serious objection to Streeter's theory, for if, as he thinks to have been the fact, Luke had taken the mission of the seventy from his principal source (Proto-Luke), he would not have given its equivalent from the accessory source (Mark), and if he did not recognize the identity of the two incidents, the story which he would have altered by substituting seventy (or seventy-two) for twelve, would not have been the one he drew from his principal source.

The story of Martha and Mary (Lk. 10, 38–42) has sometimes been taken to prove that Luke knew a non-markan tradition of a visit of Jesus to Jerusalem prior to Luke 9, 51, but this rests on the uncertain assumption that the two women were the sisters of Lazarus (John 11) and that the scene was Bethany. The two incidents have of course some fundamental relation (note the same names and the resemblance in their respective relations to Jesus), but in Luke, unlike John, nothing points to any knowledge of locality.

The episode of the Galileans slain by Pilate and the tower of Siloam (Lk. 13, 1–5) comes from a source peculiar to Luke, but there is here no implication of an early visit of Jesus to Jerusalem, for the saying may well have been spoken in Galilee. The parable of the barren fig tree (Lk. 13, 6–9) has been considered a variant of the story of the cursing of the fig tree (Mk. 11, 12–14. 20–25; Mt. 21, 18–22), but the obvious differences make this unlikely. Even if Luke were supposed to have invented the parable, he could not have had the cursing of the

[33] Maurice Goguel, L'Évangile de Marc dans ses rapports avec ceux de Matthieu et de Luc, Paris, 1909, pp. 127–131.

fig tree in mind, for that was not a part of Mark's gospel when Luke used it. For the source of the parable we may look to Q. The healing on the sabbath of a woman bowed down by an infirmity (Lk. 13, 11–17) is only a variant of the story of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand (Lk. 4, 33–37 from Mk. 1, 23–28), but this parallel tradition may have been preserved as an isolated story.[34]

The sayings of doom (Lk. 13, 22–30) are taken from Q (compare Mt. 7, 13–14. 22–23; 8, 11–12), but the introductory words: "And he went through the cities and villages teaching and journeying toward Jerusalem," belong to Luke only. They recall Luke 9, 51, "He set his face to go to Jerusalem" (and so was entering Samaria); but the similarity does not show that Luke was using a coherent account of a journey, for what comes between 9, 51 and 13, 22 all belongs to a period of continuous activity, not to a journey. Moreover, the following pericope (13, 31–33) shows that the cities and villages in question were in Galilee. The reference to a journey to Jerusalem in 13, 22 must therefore be attributed to Luke himself, who, however, lacked the material for developing this idea of a journey.

The account of the pharisees' advice to Jesus to escape from Herod by leaving Galilee (Lk. 13, 31) is of value because this kindly feeling on their part runs counter to the evangelists' usual conception. Moreover Jesus does not here go to Jerusalem to fulfil God's purpose by his death, but leaves Galilee out of practical motives, to avoid danger. We have here only a fragment of tradition, and are not told what were the machinations of Herod or how Jesus escaped them.[35]

The double parable of the lost sheep and the lost coin (Lk. 15, 1–20), all evidently from Q, is addressed to the scribes and pharisees who murmur because Jesus eats with publicans and sinners (vs. 2). The same theme occurs also at the meal in Levi's house (Mk. 2, 13–17; Mt. 9, 9–13; Lk. 5, 27–32), but is differently treated, and there is no apparent literary connec-

[34] The same may be said of the cure of a dropsical man on the sabbath (Lk. 14, 1–6).

[35] This tradition may originally have been connected with that of Mark 3, 6 (Herodians), and with that of Mark 6, 14–16 (Herod's perplexity). See Goguel, Jésus et les origines du christianisme, I, Paris, 1932, pp. 330 ff.

tion. Whether Luke 15, 2 is from tradition or editorial, in either case Luke seems to have forgotten that Jesus is on a journey, not in Galilee. So the sharp words of Luke 16, 14–15 are evidently thought of as addressed to habitual adversaries, not to chance hearers on a journey.

The three aphorisms on the Law (16, 16–18) do not form a natural group, for the second is inconsistent with the other two. The first one (vs. 16; compare Mt. 11, 12–13) affirms that the Law and the Prophets hold only until John the Baptist; the second (vs. 17; compare Mt. 5, 18), on the immutability of the Law, contradicts the first; [36] the third (vs. 18) condemns marriage after divorce as adulterous, and that absolutely, not with the qualification found in Matt. 5, 32. In Mark 10, 1–12 Jesus, by citing Genesis 2, 24, condemns the whole principle of divorce, and utters (vss. 10–12) the same saying as in Luke 16, 18. Matthew 19, 1–12 is parallel to Mark 10, 1–12, but with three differences. First, there is some editorial readjustment. Secondly, the question asked relates not to the validity of the Jewish law of divorce but to Jesus' interpretation of it with respect to the legitimate grounds of divorce — just such a strictly Jewish question as was disputed between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. Thirdly, in Matthew Jesus admits the legitimacy of divorce for adultery, thus keeping on Jewish ground.

Here are two traditions, that of Mark and Luke, with absolute condemnation in spite of the exception allowed by the Jewish law, and that of Matthew, with maintenance of this exception. Has the former enhanced the severity of Jesus' requirements or has the latter softened them in the interest of Judaism? The second alternative is to be preferred for three reasons: (1) In 1 Corinthians 7, 10–11, Paul seems to know of a saying of Jesus with unconditional prohibition. (2) Jesus' reply to the pharisees is more in harmony with the absolute prohibition. (3) The two more rigorous traditions (Mark and Q) are to a certain extent independent of one another. But Mark 10, 11–12 and Luke 16, 18 are so nearly identical that

[36] We cannot be sure, from this, that one or the other saying is not authentic, for they may represent different stages of the development of Jesus' thought.

they must have the same source, namely Q; while if the conversation with the pharisees in Mark 10, 2–9 had also stood in Q, Luke would have reproduced it also. Hence Mark has combined two traditions, one of the principle about marriage, the other, from Q, of the prohibition of divorce. Neither one of these was derived from the other, for one is affirmative, the other negative.

If Luke had omitted the conversation given in Mark because it formed a doublet to the logion of 16, 18, this might be an argument for Streeter's hypothesis, for in that case Luke would have considered the tradition which supplied his aphorism of 16, 18 more authoritative than Mark's tradition. But a more probable reason for his omission is that his gentile Christian readers would not be interested in so Jewish a discussion.

The story of Dives and Lazarus (Lk. 16, 19–31) appears in complete isolation, with no indication of time, place, or circumstance, or of the effect produced. It seems to have been taken from folk-lore,[37] whether by Luke or by Jesus himself. It is unique, not only in the way it is brought in, but in content, for the final doom in the other world here immediately follows death. This idea is not elsewhere attributed to Jesus unless it be in the promise to the malefactor on the cross (Lk. 23, 43), "Today shalt thou be with me in paradise." [38] But the two passages are not otherwise related, and we must conclude that Luke knew the story of Dives and Lazarus only as an isolated incident.

The saying about offences, Luke 17, 1–2, occurs also in Mark 9, 42 and Matthew 18, 6, but in these gospels it is followed (Matt. vs. 8; Mk. vs. 43) by the admonition to destroy hand or foot or eye if that member causes sin, which is not in Luke.[39] In Luke (17, 1) the logion common to all three is preceded by a declaration, absent from Mark but found in Mat-

[37] H. Gressmann, 'Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus,' Abhandlungen, Berlin Academy, 1918, No. 7; Isidore Lévy, La légende de Pythagore, pp. 177 ff., 310 ff.

[38] Note that the malefactor's request does not imply the same conception, for he asks Jesus to remember him when he shall come into his kingdom (Lk. 23, 42).

[39] Matthew gives them also in the Sermon on the Mount in relation to adultery (5, 29–30).

thew, that offences are inevitable.[40] Luke seems to have reproduced more completely than Mark the tradition underlying both gospels. Because he intended to use Mark 9, 42 later he may have omitted it at the earlier point (immediately after Lk. 9, 50). Perhaps the facts here, which are not without analogy to what we have noted in the case of the logion about divorce, constitute a point in favor of Streeter.

Like the first piece in the "central section" (Lk. 9, 52–56), the healing of the ten lepers (17, 11–19) is placed on the border of Galilee and Samaria, but this is required by the story and need not imply that the evangelist was thinking of a journey. The incoherence of the geographical indications in Luke 9, 52; 13, 22; 13, 51; 17, 11–19 forbids the supposition that these chapters rest on a homogeneous account of Jesus' journey.

The saying about the kingdom of God and the parousia (17, 20–37) is found in Luke alone, except for three brief passages in Matthew's form of the Synoptic apocalypse.[41] In the basic tradition the saying was probably not assigned to a definite moment, for the pharisees' question is not appropriate during the course of the journey. The parable of the pharisee and the publican in the temple (18, 9–14) need not have been spoken in Jerusalem. The persons addressed seem to have been well known to Jesus, not a chance audience met on a journey.

The facts so far brought out regarding Luke 9, 51—18, 14 can be presented in the following tables:

A. Passages having parallels in Matthew and therefore presumably derived from Q:

	Luke	Verses
1. Three would-be followers	9, 57–62	6
2. The mission of the seventy	10, 1–16	16
3. The return of the seventy	17–20	4
4. Truth revealed to babes	21–22	2
5. Blessed are the eyes which see	23–24	2

[40] In Matthew this declaration follows the part that is common; in Luke it precedes.

[41] Luke 17, 23–24 = Matt. 24, 26–27; Luke 17, 26–27 = Matt. 24, 37–39; Luke 17, 35–36 = Matt. 24, 40–41.

	Luke	Verses
6. The Lord's Prayer	11, 1–4	4
7. Prayer answered	9–13	5
8. The Beelzebub sayings	14–23	10
9. The banished evil spirit returns	24–26	3
10. Blessing on Jesus' mother	27–28	2
11. The sign of Jonah	29–32	4
12. The light of the world	33–36	4
13. Attack on pharisees and scribes	11, 37—12, 1	19
14. Duty of confessing Jesus	12, 2–12	11
15. Parable of the foolish rich man	13–21	9
16. Cares and treasures	22–34	13
17. Watchfulness and fidelity	35–46	12
18. Fire on the earth	49–56	8
19. The spirit of conciliation	57–59	3
20. Parables of the mustard seed and of leaven	13, 18–21	4
21. Who will be excluded	22–30	9
22. Mourning over Jerusalem	34–35	2
23. Parable of the wedding feast	14, 15–24	10
24. Conditions for discipleship	25–27	3
25. Parables of prudence	28–33	6
26. Salt	34–35	2
27. Parables of the lost sheep and lost coin	15, 1–10	10
28. Serving two masters	16, 1	1
29. The Law	16, 16–18	3
30. Offences	17, 1–2	2
31. Reconciliation	3–4	2
32. The power of faith	5–6	2

B. Passages probably derived from Q:

1. The two great commandments	10, 25–28	4
2. Parable of the good Samaritan	29–37	9
3. Parable of the importunate friend	11, 5–8	4
4. The unprofitable servant	12, 47–48	2
5. Parable of the barren fig tree	13, 6–9	4
6. Parable of places at table	14, 7–14	8
7. Parable of the prodigal son	15, 11–32	22

	Luke	Verses
8. Parable of the unfaithful steward	16, 1–12	12
9. Attack on the pharisees	14–15	2
10. The servant's duty	17, 7–10	4
11. The kingdom of God and the parousia	20–37	17 [42]
12. Parable of the unjust judge	18, 1–8	8
13. Parable of the pharisee and the publican	9–14	6

These two lists comprise a total of 295 verses certainly or probably derived from Q.

C. Passages from a tradition akin to that of Mark:

	Luke	Verses
1. Cure of the woman with an infirmity	13, 10–17	8
2. Cure of the man with dropsy	14, 1–6	6

D. Passages which imply a tradition peculiar to Luke:

	Luke	Verses
1. The Samaritan village	9, 51–56	6
2. Mary and Martha	10, 38–42	5
3. Galileans put to death and the tower of Siloam	13, 1–5	5
4. Pharisees' warning against Herod	31–33	3
5. Dives and Lazarus	16, 19–31	13
6. The ten lepers	17, 11–19	9

These six passages, comprising 41 verses out of 350, or a little less than 12 per cent, are all that can be assigned specifically to Lukan sources, and the six do not seem to belong to any homogeneous tradition. The same lack of unity and mere juxtaposition of passages throughout the "central section" confirms the conclusion that this is a compilation of separate pieces.

Although our study thus gives but little support to Streeter's theory of a Proto-Luke, yet one point, not indeed emphasized by him, might suggest the use in the "central section" of a special source preferred before Mark. Several passages from

[42] Verse 36 is not counted, since it is not accepted in the critical texts.

Mark (or closely like Markan pericopes) are given by Luke in a non-markan position. They are the following:

1. The great commandment, Luke 10, 25–28 (Mk. 12, 28–31; Matt. 22, 24–30).

2. Beelzebub, Luke 11, 24–33 (Mk. 3, 22–27; Matt. 12, 22–30).

3. Parables of the mustard seed and of leaven, Luke 13, 18–21 (Mk. 4, 30–32; [43] Matt. 13, 31–33).

4. Divorce, Luke 16, 18 (Mk. 10, 11–12; Matt. 5, 32; 19, 9).

5. Offences, Luke 17, 1–2 (Mk. 9, 42; Matt. 18, 6–7).

On these we may observe: (1) The pericopes of the great commandment and of divorce are explained above (pp. 16 ff.). (2) The five passages all seem to be derived from Q. (3) Their scattered position in Luke is not favorable to the theory of a homogeneous source.

The argument for a Proto-Luke drawn by Streeter from Luke's passion narrative is at first reading impressive. Luke's account of the Last Supper [44] and his ampler picture of the events of the last evening, his assignment of Jesus' appearance before the Sanhedrim to dawn instead of to the night and the absence of any reference to the saying about the destruction and rebuilding of the temple, the trial before Herod, and other details, suggest that Luke's narrative of the passion is of a different type from those of Mark and Matthew, and that in certain respects it represents an intermediate stage between the primitive Synoptic account and that of John. May not Luke have had a different story, which he deemed more authoritative than Mark's source?

However, even if it be concluded that Luke's passion narrative was derived in its entirety from a source other than Mark, that does not demonstrate the theory of Proto-Luke. In what precedes the passion in Luke we have found no systematic use of a homogeneous special source, and the passion narrative, if, as is probable, it was the first part of the gospel story to be

[43] Mark gives only the parable of the leaven.

[44] I consider authentic the text of codices ℵABC, with the two cups. See Maurice Goguel, L'Eucharistie des origines à Justin Martyr, Paris, 1910, pp. 108–117; Jésus et les origines du christianisme, I, Paris, 1932, pp. 443 ff.

written down, would have had its own independent existence. But the better view is that Luke's passion narrative was derived from Mark with the addition of some fragmentary traditions of no great importance.[45]

Of Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem Luke seems to have a more primitive account than Mark. The three days of Mark's Jerusalem story, and still more the two days of Matthew's account, are not enough for the development of events, and positive indications of a more prolonged activity are not lacking even in Mark.[46] In Mark and Matthew the number of days in Jerusalem corresponds to the episode of the fig tree. Matthew, who makes the tree wither as soon as it is cursed, needs but one walk from Bethany to Jerusalem, and he distributes Jesus' activity in the city between two days. Mark's story, that the fig tree was found withered the day after the cursing, requires three days. To conclude that the division into days was made in order to insert the episode of the fig tree is but a short step, and is the more easily taken because the distribution of material among the days in Matthew and in Mark is uneven and separates organically related events.

Both Matthew and Luke make the cleansing of the temple the logical outcome and culmination of the messianic entry into Jerusalem. In Mark (11, 11) Jesus, as someone has said, enters the temple like a messianic claimant and behaves like a tourist. The expulsion of the traders took place on the following day. The question put to Jesus as to his authority (Mk. 11, 28; Mt. 21, 23; Lk. 20, 2) was originally, as its position indicates, not general but definite, and related to his action in the temple. So in John 2, 18. In Mark and Matthew the organic relation between the two incidents is lost.[47]

[45] For a more complete discussion of this question, see Jésus et les origines, I, pp. 468 ff.

[46] Luke does not indicate how long Jesus was at Jerusalem, but his account makes the impression that the period was brief. He probably thought of it as shorter than it really was. He does not explain, for instance, how Jesus had time to know about the upper chamber (Lk. 22, 11–12).

[47] The break in the text may, however, be earlier than the introduction of the division into days, for in Luke, where the question as to Jesus' authority follows almost directly the cleansing of the temple, it is introduced by a reference to "one of those days" of teaching (Lk. 20, 1).

In Mark and Matthew, on the night of Jesus' arrest, we are not told why Judas and his companions should have looked for him on the Mount of Olives, but the explanation is clear if (Lk. 21, 37) he was accustomed to pass the nights there.

The best explanation of the difficult story of the fig tree is perhaps the aetiological, proposed by Schwartz.[48] There may have been a superstition that a withered fig tree on the road from Bethany would grow green again at the parousia.[49] The tradition would then be strictly secondary, introduced late into the Gospel of Mark.

In the Synoptic apocalypse there is an important difference between Mark and Luke. For Mark's "abomination of desolation" (13, 14; cf. Dan. 12, 9) Luke has "Jerusalem compassed with armies" (21, 20), and a little later (vs. 24), "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the gentiles." This plain reference to the events of the year 70 was evidently written when the siege was imminent. Since the believers are told to flee from Jerusalem, it cannot have been written later than the spring of that year. Because the capture of the city is represented as the harbinger of the parousia, it can have been introduced into a gospel only before events had belied the prophecy, that is to say not much later than 70.

Various writers think that Mark's form here, as in general, is prior, and that Luke has made the change. But to this view there is one serious objection. Luke might have transmitted, but he cannot have created, an unfulfilled prophecy whereby the fall of Jerusalem and the final cataclysm were combined. No, Luke has preserved the original form, and Mark's is a correction, due to the failure of the prophecy, which substituted the vague "abomination of desolation" for the definite capture of the city.

Further, the sign (whether "abomination" or siege) stands in connection with the command to the faithful to flee, and if

[48] E. Schwartz, 'Der verfluchte Feigenbaum,' Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, V, 1904, pp. 80–84.

[49] This belief may have been suggested by the figure in the Synoptic apocalypse, Mk. 13, 28.

outside, not to go back into the city. This admonition has no direct relation to the profanation of the temple, but a very definite one to the siege. Now the fact that Mark and Luke introduce the eschatological discourse at exactly the same place and make it follow exactly the same course, shows that Mark originally had the same text as Luke, and that his correction was made some years after 70, when it was seen that the fall of Jerusalem had not brought on the final cataclysm. Luke must have used the earlier form of Mark, and Matthew a corrected copy, since Matthew's text (24, 15–22) varies only slightly from Mark.

If thus there were two successive editions of Mark, the later additions to the Jerusalem story which we have noticed may well have been made at the same time. I refer to what may be called the Bethany cycle — the artificial division into days, the idea of Jesus as passing the night at Bethany and not (as the story of the arrest assumes) on the Mount of Olives, the episode of the fig tree, and finally the anointing at Bethany (Mk. 14, 3–9), which last is awkward since it has no organic connection with either what precedes or what follows (14, 1–2 and 10–11).

One further remark must be made. The passion narrative in both Luke (chapters 22–23) and Mark (chapters 14–15) is a unit, complete in itself, and is merely in juxtaposition to what precedes. This has not prevented our evangelists, aiming at a coherent gospel history, from readjusting the account of the Jerusalem ministry so as to make it introductory to the passion narrative. For that reason they gave it its markedly polemic character. They deliberately accumulated such episodes as the cleansing of the temple, the discussions with the Jews, the parable of the wicked husbandmen, the invective against the pharisees, which are all tantamount to provocations addressed to the representatives of Judaism and are designed by the narrators to explain the ensuing drama.[50] That Luke

[50] The only exceptions are: the widow's mite (Mk. 12, 41–44; Lk. 21, 1–4), possible only at Jerusalem; the prophecy of the destruction of the temple, addressed to the disciples alone (Mk. 13, 1–4; Mt. 24, 1–3; Lk. 21, 5–7), of which the same is true; and the Synoptic apocalypse, which is attached to the prophecy of the destruction of the temple.

leads up to the passion in exactly the same somewhat artificial way as Mark, excludes the possibility of any essential dependence on a different source. To be sure, Luke seems to have made some slight effort to avoid an exclusively polemic tone here (note Lk. 20, 1 and 21, 37), but he plainly had no materials for a picture of the Jerusalem ministry different from Mark's.

A mere glance at a Synopsis of the gospels shows that the relation of Luke to Mark is different in the passion narrative from what it is elsewhere. His elaboration of the text here is not purely formal and literary, but goes deeper. Is this merely because of the inherent character of the passion narrative and the greater amount of reflection which it provoked? Or must we also assume the use of other traditions than Mark? And if the latter, did Luke merely draw on disconnected stories, or did he have a continuous narrative? If again the latter, did he make it or Mark the principal basis of his own narrative?

Luke's account of the last evening is longer than Mark's, and the central episode, the Last Supper, has a distinctive form. Luke's greater length is due partly to his putting the prophecy of Peter's denial here (22, 31–34) instead of later, on the way to Gethsemane, and partly to certain passages that Mark leaves out, namely the dispute about rank (22, 24–30) and the saying about two swords (22, 35–38).

The prophecy of the denial is simplified as well as transposed. In Mark (14, 27–31) it combines three elements, prophecy of the dispersal of the disciples, protestation of Peter, and prophecy of the denial. Between the prophecy of the dispersal and that of the denial comes the word about going into Galilee. Luke's omission of everything except the prophecy of the denial implies no different source. The word about Galilee and the prophecy of dispersal were inconsistent with his historical scheme (Lk. chap. 24). The transfer of the prophecy of Peter's denial to the earlier moment in the upper chamber is unimportant. Various motives for it can easily be suggested.

Of the two elements in Luke's account of the last evening which are wholly unrepresented in Mark's, one, the dispute about rank, is almost identical with Mark 10, 42–45 (Mt. 20,

25–28), with the addition of the promise of Matt. 19, 28 (apparently from Q). Luke, who deliberately omitted the rest of the incident of the sons of Zebedee (Mk. 10, 35–45), did not want these words of Jesus to them to disappear.

The puzzling saying about the two swords is a fragment, here out of its proper setting and not well fitted into this context, hence from an accessory and isolated tradition.

In the account of the Last Supper,[51] the text of Luke that I consider authentic, that of codices ℵABC, differs from Mark chiefly in the matter of the two cups. In Mark the single cup has two meanings. It is parallel to the bread and, like the bread, is accompanied by words that present it as a union by the blood of Christ; [52] on the other hand it has an eschatological meaning brought out by Jesus' word about drinking it new in the kingdom of God. Luke connects these two meanings with two different cups, an initial, eschatological cup and a cup of union after the supper. Incidentally we may note that Mark does not say, as Luke does, that Jesus, after distributing the bread, bade his disciples repeat the act. Nevertheless, Mark's account is aetiological, designed not merely to preserve the memory of what took place but also, and especially, to justify and regulate the eucharistic meal. What is explicitly stated in Luke is implicit in Mark.

That the eucharistic cup originally had an eschatological meaning which was early lost, is proved by the text of 1 Corinthians 11, 26, where the eschatological element is represented only by Paul's comment, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show (*or imperative*, 'show ye') the Lord's death till he come." Mark's text represents an intermediate stage toward full equality in significance between the cup and the bread. The beginning of this development is to be seen in Luke 22, 15–18 and its completion in 1 Corinthians 11, 26 and Luke 22, 19–20. It appears, then, that Luke used in 22, 15–18

[51] On the whole question of the Last Supper, see Goguel, L'Eucharistie, pp. 19–20; Jésus et les origines, I, pp. 427 ff.

[52] It is only an unimportant difference of form, that Mark (14, 24) has, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many," while Luke (22, 20) has, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is poured out for you."

an older tradition than Mark, and that in 19–20 he followed Mark but without the eschatological comment on the cup, which he had already given from his own special source. Here we have only a special tradition used side by side with Mark.

I turn now to the more striking peculiarities of Luke's passion narrative in the narrower sense.

(*a*) In the Gethsemane incident (Lk. 22, 40–46; Mk. 14, 32–42), in Luke Jesus leaves all the disciples behind in the same place, whereas in Mark he first leaves eight and takes the three others, then goes on alone still farther to pray. Luke was trying to avoid a slight inconsistency in Mark, where nothing is said of a return with the three to the other eight, although all eleven are present at the arrest.

In place of Jesus' thrice-repeated prayer in Mark and Matthew, Luke speaks only of one prayer, but an angel appears.[53] These are but two different ways of intensifying the episode. The angel is God's answer to the cry of anguish; to prolong the scene, already at its culmination, would only enfeeble it. The bloody sweat follows in spite of the appearance of the angel, and so in Luke Jesus goes back to his disciples in the same frame of mind as in Mark. Luke had no special source here.

(*b*) There is also a difference between the two evangelists in the succession of events at the high priest's house. Mark gives them as follows: first (the preface to Peter's denial) Peter comes into the court and is with the servants (14, 53–54); then, still in the night, comes the elaborate narrative of Jesus before the Sanhedrim (vss. 55–65); Peter's denial follows (vss. 66–72), and the early morning session of the Sanhedrim, who send Jesus to Pilate (15, 1). In Luke there is but one ses-

[53] This detail is lacking in an important group of manuscripts (ℵABW), which omit both vs. 43 and vs. 44. I believe that these verses belong to the authentic text and were suppressed under the influence of orthodox christology, the idea of comfort brought by an angel, as well as that of weakness shown by the bloody sweat, being incompatible with the essential divinity of Christ. John, who in 12, 27–30 transforms the episode of Gethsemane to adapt it to his christology, knew it in the full form given in Luke, for he speaks of a voice from heaven, which some take for thunder, while others say, "An angel hath spoken to him."

sion of the Sanhedrim, held at daybreak, and this corresponds to Mark's second session. Consequently the denial of Peter is related all in one piece. The second session in Mark, for which no details are given, seems to be useless, after the formal decision reached at the night session. The two form a doublet, due to the fact that Mark (or his source) was acquainted with two separate traditions. One recounted what passed in the Sanhedrim, the other only what an outsider could observe, and with no detail. Mark took these to relate to two separate sessions, at night and in the morning.

Various reasons may have led Luke to combine the two sessions into one, which he places in the morning so that he can pick up again the thread of Mark's story. His procedure enabled him to tell of Peter's denial in an undivided narrative; moreover he avoided the improbability of the hastily summoned night session.[54] Several accessory motives may also have influenced him. One result of the transposition is that the maltreatment of Jesus precedes the verdict of guilty instead of following it, as in Mark. The accused was treated as guilty, and this is easy to believe. But here, instead of tormenting him at once, as would be expected, they waited until an hour or two later, exactly the time designated in Mark. In all this the assumption of any other tradition than Mark's is superfluous, and Luke's story of Peter's denial is too close to Mark's not to be derived from it.

We may turn to the important differences in the two accounts of the trial before the Sanhedrim. Luke mentions no witnesses testifying against Jesus, nor is Jesus accused of having said that he could destroy and rebuild the temple. But this is not so significant as it seems at first sight. In Mark, after the preliminaries of the search for witnesses and their final divergent testimony as to the saying about the temple, the high priest calls upon Jesus to answer, apparently with regard only to the time and place at which the alleged declaration was made. Jesus makes no response, and the narrator's idea seems to be that this refusal to give explanations under illegal conditions pre-

[54] The meeting of the Sanhedrim may not have been improvised; the members may have already assembled at the high priest's house to wait for Jesus to be brought in.

vents the trial from continuing in the course which it at first appeared to be taking. A new phase of the trial seems to begin when the high priest asks of Jesus, "Art thou the Christ, the son of the Blessed?" and Jesus replies, "I am," with the following justifying sentence (vs. 62). Then the high priest rends his garments and declares that those present have themselves heard the blasphemy. All declare that Jesus deserves to die.

Mark separates the two questions put to Jesus because he (or the tradition behind him) refused to admit that Jesus had prophesied that he would destroy the temple, that is, that the religious system of Judaism would disappear and give place to a new one. The saying is, however, authentic, and has dropped out because early Christian thought was much less bold in this matter than Jesus had been at the end of his ministry. John (2, 19) gives the prophecy, but destroys its point by making it refer to the death and resurrection of Jesus (2, 21–22).

In Acts 6, 14 the familiar accusation against Stephen, made by "false witnesses," relates to the same declaration of Jesus. Stephen in his speech (Acts, chap. 7) does not deny that Jesus made it, but endeavors to justify his words.[55] Even Mark and Matthew try to soften the charge by different verbal modifications, evidently not found in the original tradition. Matthew (26, 61) has the form, "I am able to destroy . . ." which affirms only the power, not necessarily the purpose. Mark (14, 58) speaks of a temple made with hands and one made without hands, thus admitting an allegorical interpretation like that of John. Mark and Matthew endeavor to prove both that Jesus did not utter the words and that the words were not blasphemous. In trying to prove too much they show the authenticity of the saying. Indeed, the taunts which both Mark (15, 29–30) and Matthew (27, 39–40) attribute to the passers-by at the crucifixion, testify to a tradition that Jesus had been condemned for declaring that he would destroy the temple. If

[55] Stephen's speech is imperfectly reported, perhaps with lacunae. Insertions can be detected, made either by the editor of Acts or at some earlier stage of the tradition because Stephen's attitude seemed too bold.

the "false witnesses" were really telling the truth, then an organic relation is seen between the high priest's two questions. Jesus' first silence becomes, not the detached contempt of an innocent man, condemned in advance of trial, but an assent. The high priest's question, "Art thou the Christ?" is directly related to what precedes, and really means, "By this word about the temple, dost thou then claim to be the Messiah?"

If we now turn to Luke, we find that he agrees with Mark only as to the second part of the scene. As soon as Jesus is brought before the Sanhedrim, the question is put, "If thou art the Christ, tell us so." At first he replies with a sort of preliminary question, saying "If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I ask you, ye will not answer." This is equivalent to a refusal to answer; nevertheless Jesus proceeds, "But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God." [56] This is not preceded, as in Mark, by "I am," and so is not a direct answer to the question of the Sanhedrim. Jesus does not say that he will be the Son of man, and he is therefore asked again, "Art thou then the Son of God?" He replies, "Ye say that I am" (22, 70).[57] The narrative ends as in Mark, the judges exclaiming, "What need we any further witness?" although up to that point there had been no question of witnesses.

In Luke's account considered by itself there are three obscure, even incomprehensible, points: (1) To the first question asked him, Jesus at first seems unwilling to reply, and yet does reply, with an answer in two parts. (2) The first part of his answer, without the second which explains it, bears no relation to the question put. (3) There is said to be no further need of witness, although there has been no previous mention of witnesses.

These three points are cleared up by a comparison with Mark. To take the simplest first, the reference to witness at the end

[56] This form of the declaration is secondary as compared with Mark, for it contains only the idea of the glorification, omitting that of the return on the clouds. This is a consequence of the weakening of the expectation of the parousia.

[57] Strictly speaking, the text may be rendered, 'It is you who say that I am,' and understood as a refusal to reply, or even a negation, meaning 'I do not say it,' but this is excluded by the fact that the Sanhedrim took the answer as an admission.

must come from some account like Mark's, which mentioned a search for witnesses. Luke omitted this element at the beginning in order to avoid referring to Jesus' alleged saying about the temple, but failed to omit it at the end. As to Jesus' answer, we note that in Mark the high priest puts two questions; Jesus refuses to reply to the first but answers the second. In Luke also there are two questions; Jesus makes an evasive reply to the first and a direct answer to the second. This correspondence shows that Luke has preserved the general arrangement of Mark, and there is no indication here of any other source than Mark.

(*c*) Regarding the trial before Pilate, two things are to be said. First, Mark (15, 2) begins the questioning instantly, without stating how Pilate knew the charges. Luke (23, 2) explains that the Jews accused Jesus of perverting their nation and forbidding them to pay tribute to Caesar, and of saying that he himself is the Christ-king. All this certainly implies no separate tradition.[58] Secondly, Luke, instead of indicating, as Mark does (Mk. 15, 5), Pilate's astonishment at Jesus' attitude, makes him give a formal declaration of Jesus' innocence: "I find no fault in this man" (Lk. 23, 4). All the passion narratives, the later they are the more intensely, try to lay all the responsibility for the death of Jesus on the Jews, and represent Pilate as favorable to him and as having condemned him only under irresistible pressure from the people. This fully explains the text of Luke.

(*d*) Luke tells, as an interlude in the trial before Pilate, of proceedings before Herod (Lk. 23, 6–16), but the scene cannot be historical; a Roman governor cannot have recognized any right on Herod's part to jurisdiction in Jerusalem. The episode was created to express the idea (so Acts 4, 27) that all earthly powers were in coalition against Jesus. We also recall Herod's hostility in Galilee, which had driven Jesus to leave that country and go to Judaea (Lk. 13, 31–33). Nevertheless, Luke may well have found the story already in circulation, for such a

[58] In reality there is no lacuna in Mark, for Pilate did not need to be informed of the charge against Jesus. He himself, at the instigation of the Jewish authorities, had given the order for the arrest.

legend is more likely to arise spontaneously than to be the creation of a writer. In any case, this story is a pure episode by itself, not an integral part of a coherent account of the passion. To give substance to the Herod episode, Luke tells how the tetrarch finally abandons Jesus to the outrages of his soldiers, and then sends him back to Pilate ironically clad in a royal mantle. These elements Luke has transferred from Mark 15, 16–20, where the outrages are attributed to the soldiers of Pilate.

(*e*) In Luke 23, 27–31, we find various single additions and omissions as compared with Mark. In this place, and in the Gospel of Luke only, there is the trace of a tradition in which the populace resented the condemnation and death of Jesus as a misfortune and a menace to themselves. There is no basis for this view in Mark, for there the condemnation is forced upon Pilate by the people's insistence. The tradition of which Luke has preserved some remnant is probably early and deserves the attention of historians, but it is merely accessory. In general, Luke represents the crowd as Mark does, demanding the death of Jesus and finally wringing the condemnation from Pilate.

(*f*) The aromatic wine (Mk. 15, 23) does not appear in Luke, probably because Luke, not understanding the incident, identified it with that of the vinegar as a derisive gesture (Lk. 23, 36; originally it had been an act of compassion). Moreover Luke alters the setting, for in Mark it is associated with Jesus' cry of despair, "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani!" for which Luke, from motives which are readily comprehensible, has substituted the words of filial submission, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The correction is theological and implies no special source. Without the cry of despair, the incident of the vinegar was left hanging, and a place had to be found for it. The words, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," are an echo of Stephen's saying "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (Acts 7, 59). So the words, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do" (Lk. 23, 34), are an illustration of Jesus' own command, "Bless them that curse you and pray for them which despitefully use you" (Lk. 6, 28), or they too may be reminiscent of Stephen ("Lord, lay not this sin to their charge"; Acts 7, 60).

(*g*) The incident of the converted malefactor (Lk. 23, 40–44) is peculiar to Luke and must come from some special tradition, but it is fragmentary and not connected with any other part of the gospel tradition, unless it be Dives and Lazarus (Lk. 16, 19–31), where also we find the unusual idea of men's entering into paradise and receiving their reward at the moment of death.[59]

The foregoing analysis of Luke's passion narrative leads to a conclusion entirely opposed to the theory of a special homogeneous source. Luke's narrative is a literary elaboration of that of Mark, supplemented by certain fragmentary traditions. It does not support Streeter's hypothesis of a Proto-Luke; indeed it presents a weighty objection; for if Luke had had access to an otherwise unknown gospel, and had made it his principal source, it is inconceivable that in his story of the passion he should not have followed it for the main outlines; and if, on the other hand, we have to conclude that Proto-Luke did not include the passion, that work was certainly a very singular gospel.

Streeter also uses in support of his thesis the peculiarities in the Lukan account of the appearances of the risen Christ. But here we have no Mark to compare Luke with; all we know is that Mark's conclusion must have included one or two Galilean appearances. If we may hazard a suggestion on so complex a problem, the transfer of the appearances from Galilee to Judaea may well be due, not to any variant tradition, but to quite different causes, especially the growing importance of the church of Jerusalem. In the cycle of the resurrection appearances comparison between Mark and Luke is possible for only one incident — the discovery of the empty tomb. Here the peculiarities of Luke, namely the two angels instead of one and the women's report instead of their reticence, obviously do not imply a special source. As to the women, the lost part of Mark may have explained that they finally did deliver the message.

[59] If we were to look upon this (as we probably ought not to do) as a theological conception, and not as a more or less irrational popular notion, it could be compared with the idea developed in 2 Corinthians 4–5 and in the Epistle to the Philippians, that the elect ascend to salvation immediately after death.

Streeter has exaggerated the force of his arguments for a Proto-Luke because he has studied the question in too general a fashion, taking the non-markan sections of Luke's narrative each as a whole, without looking closely enough into their internal structure and analyzing their constituent elements. Another error of method is that he confines himself too much to the relation between Mark and Luke, without taking into consideration the complex problems that arise if Matthew is included in the comparison.

The hypothesis of a Proto-Luke, in spite of its wide acceptance in England,[60] cannot be upheld. In addition to Mark and Q, Luke had at his disposal only certain fragmentary traditions.

II

Ought we then to be entirely satisfied with the current conception of the genesis of the Gospel of Luke as set forth, for example, in my Introduction to the Synoptics? Is it enough to say that Luke reproduces Mark's work with the addition of certain traditions not found there and with the omission of certain things that Mark does contain? We owe a debt of gratitude to Streeter for having concentrated attention on the Gospel of Luke and shown that the problem of the relation between Mark and Luke is more complex than had been assumed, and that it calls for renewed and more intensive study. I do not claim to offer a solution; I would only make some observations and offer some suggestions.

If we are to grapple with the problem, we must not, as has been too often the habit, consider separately and explain independently the two series of facts, on the one hand Luke's de-

[60] Among those who have accepted it we may note V. Taylor (Behind the Third Gospel: a Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis, Oxford, 1927), who attempts to confirm it by statistics. Commenting on this, Dibelius (Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1927, coll. 146 f.) finds that the exactness of this method is illusory. It really proves that where Luke is certainly dependent on Mark he has made a far-reaching stylistic revision, saying the same thing in more carefully chosen words. Consequently, as Dibelius observes, the statistics of vocabulary are not at all a proper means for determining the degree of Luke's dependence on Mark. He sums up his impression of Taylor's book in the words, "Ich habe mich von der Durchschlagskraft der Beweise Taylors weder im Kleinen noch im Grossen überzeugen können" (col. 147).

partures from Mark and on the other the elements found in Luke only. We must consider these two series together, and find, if not the same explanation for both, at least mutually consistent explanations. It is of fundamental importance to analyze and define with precision the data which constitute the problem. Only then can a solution be sought; indeed the analysis may itself yield the elements of a solution.

We may, for well recognized reasons, leave out of view the first two chapters of the gospel. In the rest of Luke's narrative special attention must obviously be paid to those pericopes having parallels in Mark where Luke and Mark disagree, limiting our inquiry to those large sections in which the two gospels are in general parallel. If the thesis of the priority of Mark is to be maintained, reasons must be found for the suppressions and displacements which comparison with Mark reveals in Luke. These phenomena are not all of the same character. To draw up a single list of all Luke's deviations from Mark will not serve; they must be grouped in several lists, according to their character and the kind of explanation they require.

A first list will include the deviations which have a simple and evident explanation.

List A	Mark	Matt.	Luke
1. Calling of the first disciples	1, 16–20	4, 18–22	
Miraculous draft of fishes			5, 1–11
2. The family of Jesus try to take him	3, 20–21	lacking	lacking
3. Rejection at Nazareth	6, 1–6	13, 53–58	
First preaching at Nazareth			4, 15–30
4. Conversation after the transfiguration	9, 9–13	17, 9–13	lacking
5. The sons of Zebedee	10, 35–45	20, 20–28	
Dispute about rank at the Last Supper			22, 24–27
6. Cursing of the fig tree	11, 12–14. 20–25	21, 18–22	lacking
7. The great commandment	12, 28–34	22, 24–30	10, 25–28
8. Anointing at Bethany	14, 3–9	26, 6–13	7, 36–50

Six of these eight pericopes have been discussed above, but we have still to explain the omissions in No. 2 and No. 4. The action of Jesus' relatives in trying to take possession of him on the ground that he has lost his wits (No. 2) is omitted by Matthew as well as by Luke, although at the point correspond-

ing to that of Mark's pericope Matthew gives Jesus' saying about his true kinsfolk (Mk. 3, 31–35 = Mt. 12, 46–50). This is the conclusion of the scene with Jesus' family (Mk. 3, 21), and its separation from that scene in Mark by the Beelzebub sayings is the work of the editor.[61] Matthew and Luke alike were doubtless shocked at the thought of Jesus' being called mad. Mark's tradition was ancient, and was deliberately suppressed. The conversation during the descent from the mount of transfiguration (No. 4) turns on a specifically Jewish apocalyptic notion, the return of Elijah — a doctrine in which Luke's gentile Christian readers would have no interest, if indeed they could understand it. It is easy to see why Luke omitted it.

A second list consists of three Markan pericopes that appear in Luke in a different context.

List B	Mark	Matt.	Luke
1. Beelzebub sayings	3, 22–30	12, 22–32	11, 14–23; 12, 10
2. Jesus' declaration as to his true family	3, 31–35	12, 46–50	8, 19–21; 11, 27–28
3. Parable of the mustard-seed	4, 30–31	13, 31–32	13, 18–19

Each of these passages calls for some notice.

1. The three evangelists all treat the charge of aid from Beelzebub in the same general way, but there are some differences.

In Mark the discussion begins abruptly, with no occasion given for the accusation. The connection with the cases of exorcism which may have been in mind (especially Mk. 3, 7–12) is broken by two pericopes, one on the apostles (3, 13–19) and the other on the attitude of Jesus' family (3, 20–21). Matthew and Luke, doubtless feeling this, appropriately introduced here an exorcism, probably not invented by them but taken from tradition. Their two stories (Mt. 12, 22–23; Lk. 11, 14) are

[61] This is because of the close analogy between the accusation of madness brought against Jesus by his relatives and the declaration of the pharisees that Jesus drives out demons in the name of Beelzebub, the prince of demons, which means that Jesus is himself possessed by a demon.

not identical,[62] but must have some connection, for in both the demoniac is dumb, and when he speaks the bystanders' astonishment is mentioned.

In the reply of Jesus, the first element (*a*) in Mark and Matthew is that a kingdom or a house divided against itself cannot stand, and therefore Satan, if divided against himself, cannot stand (Mk. 3, 23–26; Mt. 12, 25–26), while Luke (11, 17–18) speaks only of a kingdom, not a house. The next element (*b*), found only in Matthew (12, 27–28) and Luke (11, 19–20), is an inference from (*a*). "If I drive out demons by Beelzebub, by whom do your children drive them out? . . . But if I drive them out by the Spirit (*Luke*, 'finger') of God, the kingdom of God has come upon you." The third element (*c*) is the parable of the strong man (Mk. 3, 27; Mt. 12, 29–30; Lk. 11, 21–23). The text is virtually identical in Mark and Matthew; in Luke it has been altered, but the meaning is the same. [On the other hand, Matthew and Luke append, in identical language, what is lacking in Mark: "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad." A conclusion (*d*) appears only in Mark (3, 28–30) and Matthew (12, 31–32), emphasized by an extra clause in Mark:[63]

Mark	Matthew
28 Verily I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme:	31 Wherefore I say unto you, Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; *but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven:*
29 But whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin:	32 *And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him,* but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come.
30 *Because they said, "He hath an unclean spirit."*	

Luke, in another context (12, 10), has a sentence that corresponds very exactly to the whole of Matthew 12, 32, includ-

[62] The verbal likenesses amount only to a few words which could scarcely fail to occur in an account of an exorcism. In Matthew the demoniac is blind as well as dumb, and Matthew adds that those present said, "Is not this the son of David?"

[63] Italics are used for the portions that occur in only one of the gospels.

ing the part not found in Mark.[64] Matthew's verses 31–32 are extremely inappropriate where they stand, for they resist an accusation against Jesus by saying that speech against the Son of man may be forgiven, and only blasphemy against the Holy Spirit cannot be. Evidently the saying was put here because the editor thought that to connect Jesus with Beelzebub was a word against the Spirit, which inspired him. The saying about a word against the Son of man is evidently editorial work,[65] and must be derived from Q.

Similar conclusions can be drawn with regard to the other three elements of the piece. As to (*a*), Luke's failure to include the house has no apparent motive, and we conclude that he took the saying not from Mark, but from a source common to him and Mark, which must be Q. The second element (*b*) likewise comes from Q, since it is found only in Matthew and Luke; and the same is true of (*c*), since it has a concluding sentence in Matthew and Luke which does not occur in Mark. We are thus justified in assuming that the whole Beelzebub discussion is derived from Q.[66]

The place which the episode occupies in Mark's narrative is organic. Coming after a series of conflicts (2, 1 — 3, 6), it marks an important stage in the growing hostility to Jesus which Mark is illustrating in the first part of his narrative. It is followed by parables about the kingdom of God (4, 1–34), which, with Jesus' explanation of his use of parables in addressing the multitude (4, 10–12; 21–25; 33–34), form a theoretical explanation of his want of success. He purposely

[64] The logion occurs in Luke in an exhortation to confess Jesus (Lk. 12, 2–12), the equivalent of which, without the logion, is found in Matthew (10, 19. 26–33).

[65] The adaptation is more complete in Mark. He speaks of sins and blasphemies which are forgiven to the sons of men, instead of the forgiveness of blasphemy against the Son of man. This is clearly a transposition.

[66] This conclusion is strengthened by an examination of the passages which in Luke are associated with the discussion about possession by evil spirits. These passages are Lk. 11, 16, request for a sign from heaven, inserted in the account of the healing of the demoniac, which calls forth the Beelzebub charge and the reply of Jesus (parable of the strong man); and 11, 24–32, a series of three elements coming after the reply of Jesus: (*a*) the unclean spirit which finds seven others, (*b*) the blessing pronounced on the mother of Jesus, (*c*) the sign of Jonah. There is no orderly arrangement here, but the mere juxtaposition which seems characteristic of Q.

addresses the people in a way they cannot understand. The structure of Mark's narrative rests on design.

In Luke, the position of the Beelzebub discussion is far less organic. It is preceded by sayings about prayer (11, 9–13), with which it has only a verbal connection through the concluding assurance that God will give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him. It is followed by the saying about the unclean spirit who with seven others returns to his former abode (11, 24–26). Here too the connection (exorcism) is merely external, with reference to the central idea of the discussion in Luke 11, 14–23. It is impossible to suggest any motive which could have led Luke to take the Beelzebub incident out of its organic context where it lies in Mark in order to give it another setting.

2. Jesus' declaration about his true family is given in very similar terms by Mark (3, 31–35) and Matthew (12, 46–50), and in the same place, immediately after the discussion of the expulsion of evil spirits. Luke gives it, with only such variations as do not disguise its community of origin with the other texts, in his chapter 8, vss. 19–21. Here it has no connection with what precedes. In Luke 8, 9–18, Jesus is speaking to his intimate disciples alone; in verse 19 he is surrounded by such a throng that his mother and brothers cannot come near him. The passage is equally detached from the following pericope, the stilling of the storm (vss. 22–25), which begins, "Now it came to pass on a certain day." In another place (Lk. 11, 27–28), likewise without relation to either preceding or following context, Luke has another saying which is certainly akin to the one we are considering: not Jesus' mother is to be called blessed, but those rather who hear the word of God and keep it. The underlying theme of the two is obviously the same. It is a double tradition, of which the first origin must be sought in Q.

3. There are decisive reasons for assigning the same origin to the parable of the mustard-seed. In Mark (4, 30–32) and Matthew (13, 31–32) this forms one of a series of parables; in Luke (13, 18–19) it stands between two passages with which it has no organic connection. In form, Matthew and Luke

have some contacts which they do not share with Mark. Both associate the mustard-seed with the leaven (not found in Mark). They must be using a common source other than Mark, namely Q.

The examination of the pieces in List B has then shown (1) that there is no satisfactory explanation of the way they are rearranged by Luke, and (2) that they all come from Q.

In a third list we group five pericopes of Mark not found in Luke but containing a saying that occurs, without its context, in Luke.

List C	Mark	Matt.	Luke
1. Refusal of a sign from heaven	8, 11–13	16, 1–14	
The sign of Jonah		12, 38–42	11, 16. 29–32
2. The leaven of the pharisees	8, 14–21	16, 5–12	
			12, 1–3
3. On giving offence	9, 42–48	18, 6–9;	
		5, 29–30	17, 1–2
4. On salt	9, 49–50		
		5, 13	14, 34–35
5. On divorce	10, 1–12	19, 1–9	
		5, 31–32	16, 18–19

Three pieces in this list, Nos. 1, 3, and 5, occur in Matthew as doublets, representing one tradition coming through Mark and a parallel tradition through Q, with the difference that in Q they are isolated aphorisms, in Mark sayings set in a story. As to No. 4, the saying about salt, it is evident, in spite of the differences in Mark as compared with Matthew and Luke, that it is the same saying in two forms, and consequently is derived from Q. So probably with the saying about the leaven of the pharisees. In Mark and Matthew it opens a conversation with Jesus' disciples; Luke makes it a warning to the crowd, unconnected with what precedes or what follows.[67] The bearing of all this we will consider later.

The fourth list (D) consists of the pericopes of Mark which have no equivalent in Luke, either in the corresponding position or elsewhere in the narrative.

[67] On the original meaning of the saying about leaven, see Goguel, Jésus et les origines, I, p. 332.

List D	Mark	Matt.
1. Parable of the seed growing of itself (the tares)[68]	4, 26–29	13, 24–30
2. Conclusion of teaching in parables	4, 33–34	13, 34–35
3. Death of John the Baptist	6, 17–29	14, 3–12
4. Walking on the water	6, 45–52	14, 22–33
5. Return to Gennesaret	6, 53–56	14, 34–36
6. On cleanness of meats	7, 1–23	15, 1–20
7. The Canaanite woman	7, 24–30	15, 21–28
8. Cure of a deaf-mute	7, 31–37	
Cure of several sick persons[69]		15, 29–31
9. Feeding of the four thousand	8, 1–10	15, 32–39
10. Refusal of a sign from heaven	8, 11–13	16, 1– 4
11. The leaven of the pharisees[70]	8, 14–21	16, 5–12
12. The blind man of Bethsaida[71]	8, 22–26	lacking

1. The parable of the seed growing of itself is a doublet of that of the mustard-seed, which follows it in Mark (4, 30–32) and Matthew (13, 31–32) and which occurs in a different position in Luke (13, 18–19). This is the same parable transmitted under three different forms, the seed growing of itself, the mustard-seed, and the tares, which all probably belong to the tradition of Q. Since Luke put into his gospel the two parallel forms of Jesus' saying about his true family, we can hardly suppose that he omitted as a doublet the seed growing of itself.

2. Although Luke does not give the conclusion of the teaching in parables exactly as does Mark in 4, 33–34, where apparently, as in the section of parables itself, we have material derived from Q, yet he presents the same somewhat artificial theory of the use of parables (Lk. 8, 9–10).

[68] This parable occurs in Matthew as the parable of the tares. In spite of the obvious differences, the two have the same essential theme, only further developed in Matthew than in Mark.

[69] These pericopes in Mark and Matthew, in spite of their differences, are to be regarded as parallel, because they occupy exactly the same place in the whole development. Matthew was disconcerted by the physical means required for the cure of the deaf-mute, and substituted for it a group of cures not described in detail and evidently an editorial product.

[70] Pericopes 10 and 11 of this list have already appeared as Nos. 1 and 2 in List B, but in their setting and their narrative element they are quite different from their equivalents in Luke.

[71] The story of the cure of the blind man of Bethsaida was suppressed by Matthew for reasons similar to those given in note 69 for his substitution of other cures for that of the deaf-mute. As a sort of compensation, Matthew (20, 29–34) has two blind men cured at Jericho instead of one.

3. The account of the death of John the Baptist is inserted by Mark (6, 17–29) and Matthew (14, 3–12) after the pericope about Herod's notion that John had come to life again in Jesus. Luke also gives the pericope about Herod's idea, but in a different form (Lk. 9, 7–9). Two points are here noteworthy. First, Mark's pericope about Herod's idea is attached to the mission of the twelve, which immediately precedes ("Herod heard" has no direct object expressed). Secondly, it does not come to any conclusion that bears directly on the history of Jesus. A kind of marginal note, it seems to be merely a survival of some older form of the tradition, in which it had a more definite place in the gospel story. Luke's form is somewhat different. Herod is disquieted by the various current theories about Jesus. He rejects them; "John I beheaded: but who is this?" And he conceives a desire to see him. In order to study the very obscure relation of Luke and Mark, let us assume that Luke used no other source than Mark. He may well have tried to improve the connection by writing, "But Herod heard all that was taking place," although that is in fact no less vague. Likewise we may suppose that Luke added the desire to see Jesus, in a kind of anticipation of Jesus' appearance before him in Luke 23, 6–12, where verse 8 is to be noted. Yet the relation of 23, 8 and 9, 9 is merely apparent and superficial; the anxiety and fear of the earlier passage are very different from the mere curiosity of the later one. Luke's purpose of preparing for the later scene cannot therefore be his motive for the turn that he gives to the close of the earlier pericope.

Moreover, the theory that Mark was Luke's only source does not in the least explain why here, for Mark's (and Matthew's) Herod, who in the face of various suggestions declares Jesus to be John the Baptist resuscitated, Luke should substitute one who rejects all the theories and remains puzzled. The divergence is important. If Jesus is John risen from the dead, Herod is in the presence of a supernatural power against which there is no defence. But if this is not so, then Jesus is a new prophet with a dangerous influence over the people, and it behooves Herod to take the same precautions as in the case of John.

It is then possible[72] that the text of Luke's source was not, 'he sought to see him,' but, 'he sought to kill him,' and this would be the occasion of making the decision of which the pharisees came to warn Jesus (Lk. 13, 31). Luke thus seems to have followed, without exactly reproducing, an older tradition than Mark's. This tradition was altered when it became no longer possible to admit that the events of Jesus' life could have been affected by contingent circumstances, such as the tetrarch's attitude, because gospel history was conceived as the unfolding of a divine plan. Under the influence of this conception, the original connection between the Herod episode and the Galilean ministry was broken and the conclusion of the incident softened down. With Luke, the effect of these influences did not go so deep. His text cannot be understood as an elaboration of Mark's, but must be recognized as nearer to the primitive tradition.

If Luke's tradition is not derived from Mark's, can the reverse be true? Can Luke lie behind Mark? Mark certainly made a deliberate effort to suppress the idea that Jesus left Galilee because of Herod's hostility. This would explain his substitution of Herod's notion of being confronted by a supernatural power for his idea that this was only a new prophet whom he could deal with through the police. We can thus reduce the two traditions as to Herod's attitude to two phases of the same original tradition, of which Luke represents the earlier. This economy of hypothesis is a methodological advantage.

As to the story of the death of John the Baptist, it is not clear why Luke does not reproduce it. Merely as a doubtful popular legend[73] he would hardly have objected to it. Nor can we suppose that he thought it irrelevant here, for it is less so than the account of Herod's perplexity. We can only conclude that Luke knew the story of Herod's perplexity only in a form in which it was not followed by the account of the Baptist's death.

4–12. The nine remaining items of List D, not found in Luke, are not isolated pericopes of Mark, but constitute an important section of his book, from 6, 45 to 8, 26. To consider

[72] For justification of this hypothesis, see Goguel, Jésus et les origines, I, p. 338.

[73] See Maurice Goguel, Au seuil de l'évangile, Jean Baptiste, Paris, 1928, pp. 51 ff.

them separately will not do, for that would lead to contradictory results. In some instances the omissions could be easily explained. Thus the cleanness of meats (Mk. 7, 1–23) is not of interest to the gentile Christians. The cure of the deaf-mute (7, 31–37) and the blind man (8, 22–26) involved physical means, and made difficulty for later ideas of Jesus' miraculous power. On the other hand the incident of the Canaanite woman (Mk. 7, 24–30) and some others agree so well with Luke's ideas that it is not easy to account for the suppression of them.

With the exception of the opening pericope, the feeding of the five thousand (Mk. 6, 30–44), this whole section is missing from Luke. As is always pointed out, it consists of two cycles, of parallel construction. In this section,[74] made notable by the two stories of feeding the multitude, the reader is struck at once by the peculiar geographical data. Jesus is constantly travelling, but his movements are not to be explained as missionary journeys. He keeps crossing from one side of the lake to the other. In the region of Capernaum, previously the centre of his activity, he makes only rare and fugitive appearances followed by abrupt departures. Once he goes far to the north, to the region of Tyre, but not to preach in heathen territory, for he remains in hiding and the only incident recorded is the story of the Canaanite mother (Mk. 7, 24–30), whose petition he hesitates to grant. Two explanations are possible. Either Mark merely puts incidents into juxtaposition without regard to their geographical relations, or else he gives the stories as he found them already grouped, but fails to indicate the reason for the peculiar character of Jesus' life in this period. The second explanation is to be preferred. The unstated cause must be the hostility of Herod and the need of eluding the pursuit of his agents.

In the story of the feedings, Mark lays less stress on the prodigy than on the way in which Jesus associates the multitude with himself in the meal and thus anticipates the great messianic feast. This is clearly the point of the incident. Through a

[74] For justification of the views here expressed see Goguel, Jésus et les origines, I, pp. 342 ff.

symbolic act Jesus proclaims that even under the menace of imminent danger he is not vanquished, and has in no way relaxed his confidence that the kingdom of God is at hand. The feeding of the multitude marks not merely a critical moment but one of the culminating points of his ministry. In placing immediately after each feeding an episode illustrating the persistent opposition of traditional Judaism (after the first the cleanness of meats, Mk. 7, 1–23; after the second the request for a sign from heaven, Mk. 8, 11–13), and in prefixing to the final pericope of the section (the blind man at Bethsaida) a warning to beware of the leaven of the pharisees and the leaven of Herod (8, 15), Mark indicates that Jesus' supreme effort to win the people of Galilee by his words has failed and that he must now enter upon the path of messianic suffering which will end on Calvary. That Mark is aware of this is shown by the first announcement to the disciples of their coming sufferings (Mk. 8, 31–32), which immediately follows Peter's confession (Mk. 8, 27–30).

All this is given much more simply in Luke. On the return of the twelve, Jesus leads them outside of Galilee proper to Bethsaida (Lk. 9, 10). The multitude come to him and he preaches and distributes the loaves (Lk. 9, 11–17). The confession of Peter (Lk. 9, 18–21) immediately follows.

Spitta [75] thinks that Luke here reproduces more exactly than Mark the fundamental common source ("Grundschrift") of the Synoptics, that the feeding was not in this source, and that Luke took it from Mark. He bases this opinion on the observation that the town of Bethsaida (Lk. 9, 10) is unsuited for the miracle. This inconsistency he takes to indicate the later insertion of the miracle (Lk. 9, 11–17). That omitted, all is in order. Jesus, fleeing from Herod, withdraws apart (to the eastern shore) with his disciples and there asks them what men are saying about him and what they themselves have preached about him. When he learns that they had spoken of him as the Messiah, he asks them not to do it again.

[75] F. Spitta, 'Das Gespräch Jesu mit seinen Jüngern in Bethsaida,' in Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu, Göttingen, 1907, pp. 85–143; Die synoptische Grundschrift in ihrer Ueberlieferung durch das Lukas-Evangelium, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 214–228.

This is ingenious but hardly convincing. That Luke does not expressly state that Jesus left the town does not require that the miracle should have been performed in the town itself (note also vs. 12). There are also two other strong objections: first, Luke does not say that Jesus left the region of Capernaum because of the hostility of Herod, as he would have done if he were writing with the purpose attributed to him by Spitta, for he would then have said plainly that Jesus left the region of Capernaum to escape from Herod; and secondly, quite apart from all doubt about Spitta's interpretation of the dialogue between Jesus and his disciples, the mode of introducing it in Luke is as artificial as that in Mark and Matthew is natural.

Let me develop this point. In Mark (8, 27–30), after the crisis which is the virtual end of the Galilean ministry, Jesus needs to know whether he can count on his disciples. So, being alone with them, he asks the familiar questions. This is perfectly natural. In Luke the disciples gather around Jesus while he is alone and at prayer (Lk. 9, 18). This seems to presage some question from them, but instead it is he who questions them. This is the work of the editor.[76] Luke does not reproduce the original tradition, but takes up the thread of Mark's narrative in an artificial way.

It is the observable fact that Luke has suppressed certain narratives found in Mark. His reasons are hard to see, since it is unlikely that the puzzling incoherence of Mark's geography led him to leave out a whole series of episodes. More important than his motive is the fact that he did alter the text of Mark.

The result of our examination of the passages appearing in both Mark and Luke but with substantial differences, may be summed up as follows:

[76] Luke did not invent this, but took it from another episode. In Lk. 11, 1 we read that when Jesus had been praying in a certain place, one of his disciples said unto him, "Lord, teach us to pray as John also taught his disciples." Jesus answered with the Lord's Prayer. This detail is certainly authentic, for the tradition, which attached great importance to showing the complete independence of Jesus from John the Baptist, would not have invented the idea that in giving the Lord's Prayer he was imitating John. What is entirely suitable as an introduction to giving the prayer at the request of the disciples, is not at all suitable for the dialogue on what is thought of Jesus, which he himself initiates.

(1) In some cases Luke's omissions are easily explained by good reasons, so that there is no difficulty in believing that he had our Mark before him.

(2) In the pericope about Herod's perplexity Luke is nearer to the primitive tradition than was Mark; in Luke's source the pericope may not have been followed by the death of the Baptist.

(3) Luke lacks a series of Markan pericopes derived from Q.

I should like now to suggest an hypothesis,[77] which seems to me to deserve examination. If I present it in the too categorical form of a positive thesis, without the due qualifications and question-marks, that is only for the sake of clearer exposition.

I have already given reasons for believing that there were two successive forms of the Gospel of Mark, and that Luke used the older one, while Matthew had the same one that has come down to us.[78] The earlier form did not contain the Bethany cycle (division into days, fig tree, anointing), and in the Synoptic apocalypse it referred to the siege of Jerusalem instead of "the abomination of desolation" as the sign of the end. In the first edition Mark [79] made use of Q sparingly, either because his readers would be familiar with it, or because he had it in an incomplete form; in the second edition he either used Q more freely or had an enlarged copy of it. This would account for the facts of List B and List C, and would explain why Nos. 1 and 2 of List D are not found in Luke.

As to List D, comprising other Markan pericopes omitted by Luke, a distinction is to be made among them. Nos. 4 to 10 were suppressed by Luke, as is proved by the awkwardness of his resumption of Mark's narrative (Lk. 9, 18). They really belong with List A, though their character was not so evident at first sight. Nos. 1 and 2 are satisfactorily explained by our hypothesis. As for No. 3 (death of John), Mark changed

[77] I have had this hypothesis in mind for a long time, but have wanted to examine and criticise it myself, repeatedly and at considerable intervals of time, before presenting it to others.

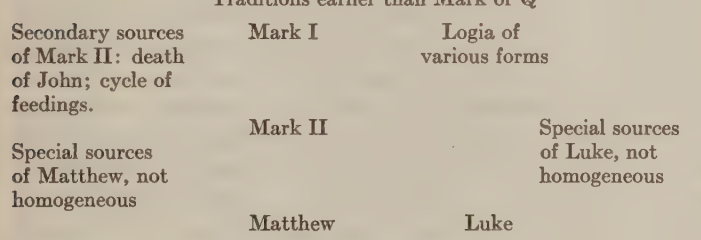
[78] With the possible exception of some minor corrections, to be regarded as in the field of textual rather than literary criticism.

[79] The grounds for believing that the two editions were by the same author will be given later; see pp. 53 ff.

his original account of Herod's perplexity, which was like Luke's, as explained above; the death of John follows naturally on this changed form and may have stood in the source from which Mark drew.[80]

The same hypothesis can be applied to the opening accounts of John the Baptist by Mark (1, 4–13) and Luke (3, 1–20). The text of Mark is later and less complete than that of Matthew or Luke. In it John's originality is concealed; his history is merged in the gospel story, and he himself reduced to the rôle of precursor. Mark here suits later Christian thought better than do Matthew and Luke. Possibly Mark's first edition had no notice of John the Baptist, and began with Jesus' baptism, but that we cannot pursue. Matthew, like Luke, is here more complete than Mark, a relation inverse to what we should expect on our hypothesis. Perhaps both Matthew and Luke, independently, here turned away from Mark to the original passage in Q, which Mark had abridged.

The theory which we have outlined may be expressed by the following diagram: [81]



We must give the reasons for speaking of a second edition of Mark rather than of a fresh book, that is, for thinking that the hypothetical two forms of that gospel were by the same author.

Let us consider the plan of the Galilean ministry. In the first edition this would have consisted only of these portions:

[80] Perhaps introduced without much deliberation, to disguise the fact that Herod's attitude had directly influenced the course of events in the life of Jesus.

[81] Note that it is not possible to separate accurately what is derived from Q and what comes from the special sources of Matthew and Luke.

1, 1—3, 19; 4, 1–25; 4, 35—6, 13; 6, 30—8, 26. After the introduction (1, 1–15: John the Baptist, Jesus' baptism, the temptation) came the initial portrayal of Jesus' ministry (1, 16–45), with the calling of the first disciples, the day at Capernaum, the itinerant preaching, and the healing of a leper. Then followed a series of conflicts (2, 1—3, 6), which showed how the ministry that had seemed to open so auspiciously encountered difficulties; the mention in 3, 6 of the plotting of pharisees and Herodians foreshadows the final reverses and death. Next it is shown how Jesus, undeterred by obstacles, continued his ministry of healing (3, 7–12) and provided for the continuation and extension of his work through the apostolate (3, 13–19). There follows, in explanation as it were, of Jesus' lack of success, the group of parables and the theory of his purpose in using them (4, 1–25).[82] Jesus resumes his healing activity in the country of the Gadarenes (5, 1–16). Here the man's promulgation of how great things Jesus had done for him prefigures the mission in heathen lands. Then come the cure of the woman with an issue of blood and the raising of the daughter of Jairus, perhaps already connected with the Gadarene episode in Mark's source. After these striking miracles Jesus experiences a fresh repulse at his native town (6, 1–6a). His reaction is the new development in the mission of the twelve (6, 6b–13). Between their departure and their return (6, 30) is inserted the perplexity of Herod (6, 14–16). In our form of Mark this pericope, together with the death of the Baptist (6, 17–29; perhaps not in the first edition), seems not to belong to the gospel story but merely to serve to occupy the reader while the disciples are on mission; but this was probably not so in the primitive tradition and perhaps not in the first edition of Mark. With Herod's decision to put Jesus to death, the public ministry in Galilee came to an end. With the miracle of the loaves Jesus tried to rally about him those who had joined him in heathen territory, but on his return to Galilee and in view of the hostility of the pharisees, his activity took

[82] Although there is no direct indication of it, yet perhaps what was in the mind of the evangelist was the idea that Jesus' failure was a necessary condition of the redemptive power of the cross.

a new direction in impressing on the intimate disciples, who remained faithful, the necessity of the Messiah's sufferings.

The portions that were added in the second edition did not alter the general plan. The scene with the family of Jesus, who accuse him of madness and try to lay hold on him (3, 20–21), and the accusation of collusion with Beelzebub (3, 22–30), inserted before the cycle of parables, only add something more to the series of obstacles. The addition of the parables of the seed growing by itself and the mustard-seed, and of a few words on the use of parables (4, 26–34), in no respect changes the character of this section. The addition of the death of John the Baptist and the changes as to Herod's perplexity show the tendency, already present in the first edition of Mark and more and more prominent with the developing tradition, to represent the course of Jesus' life as the unfolding of a providential purpose, not the result of contingent circumstances.

The pieces added when the Gospel of Mark was revised fit so well into the framework of the original that they do not seem like foreign material. A revision which preserves so completely the spirit and purposes of the first author can hardly be the work of any other than that author himself. This theory of a second edition of the Gospel of Mark by Mark himself presents no chronological difficulty. The first edition, in which the downfall of Jerusalem was looked upon as the advance sign of the final catastrophe, cannot have been written much later than 70, perhaps between 70 and 75. The second edition, used by Matthew, was in any case earlier than 90, perhaps between 80 and 85. This estimate would put it about ten years later than the first edition and would provide a reasonable interval of time between the two editions of a work by the same author.

THE GÖTTINGEN INVESTIGATION AND EDITION OF THE SEPTUAGINT

P. L. HEDLEY

Great Meols, Cheshire, England

A new era in Septuagint studies began in the autumn of 1891. In November of that year Hort drew up a scheme for the larger Cambridge edition: a few days later Lagarde, just before the operation from which he died on December 22, showed to his young pupil Alfred Rahlfs the works on which he was engaged, and explained his plans for their completion and publication. In these two schemes three scholars have found an arduous and self-sacrificing life-work. When A. E. Brooke and Norman M^{c}Lean undertook the preparation of the Cambridge edition in 1895, they hoped that the Octateuch might be completed in five years: the final part of this first volume did not appear until 1917. But strenuous and untiring as their toil was through long years, it is now bearing rapid fruit. It is astonishing that the intricate editions of Samuel and Kings should have been published within the four years 1927–30, and Chronicles at the beginning of 1932. The buyer, merely waiting to secure each successive part, may well reflect that while the editors have had to contend with an almost incredible mass of material, the security afforded by the University Press has sheltered them from some of the economic difficulties that have caused such delays and oscillations in Göttingen.

Two years before he undertook the Septuagint work left by Lagarde, Rahlfs had laid the foundation for the textual criticism of the Old Testament Peshitta in his famous article in the Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, IX (1889). But the spade work to be done on the Greek version extended over thirty years before he published his first edition of a book. Since his works are not so well-known as they should be, it may be worth while to describe them.

In 1904 appeared the first part of his *Septuaginta-Studien*, a

miscellaneous collection of papers on the books of Kings.[1] The first paper demonstrated that the Lucianic codex 82 was descended from an exemplar in which certain lost leaves had been replaced from a manuscript of a different family, and began a study of mixture in manuscripts that the author has pursued untiringly ever since. The third paper dealt with Origen's work in these books. But perhaps the most important part of the pamphlet is the second essay, which corrects from manuscript sources some of the quotations of Theodoret as printed by Schulze (1769). Theodoret is a primary witness to the Lucianic text; and it is unfortunate that the Cambridge editors have overlooked these important corrections in their edition of Kings and Chronicles.

In 1907 appeared the second part of the Septuaginta-Studien, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters.* I shall return to it later, but it has more than an intrinsic importance. Almost as soon as it was published, the author began the work on the Lucianic text of Kings that appeared four years later as part three of the Studien. But in the meantime Rudolph Smend recognized the quality of his work, and with Wellhausen and Althoff was instrumental in securing academic support and founding the 'Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen,' which was financed after 1911 by the Reich, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony.

The commission decided to produce two editions, one corresponding to Swete as well as one analogous to Brooke-McLean, but with the essential difference that whereas Cambridge had only printed the text of the best available uncial and then added variants at the foot of the page, Rahlfs and his colleagues aimed at the production of a critical text that should represent the oldest form of the Septuagint within our reach. The years before the War were occupied with the preparation of a catalogue of MSS, the collection of photographs (numbering about 20,000 leaves in 1914), and work on the necessary preliminary problems. Some results of these labours, which have appeared from time to time in the Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse,

[1] In 1901 he had published an edition of the fragmentary Berlin manuscript of the Sa'idic Psalter.

have also been published separately as *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens.*

In the first part, *Der Lukiantext des Oktateuch*, E. Hautsch demonstrated that Lagarde's assumption that codices 19, 82, 93, 108, 118 are Lucianic not only in the books of Kings but throughout, was erroneous; and he further identified most of the manuscripts of the Octateuch which do in fact exhibit the Lucianic text most purely. The pamphlet appeared in 1909, and it is unfortunate that such a book as Burney's "Judges" (1918) should still quote the 'Lucianic' text of Judges from Lagarde's edition. In 1909 Hautsch rendered pages 1–259 of Lagarde useless; in 1911 Rahlfs in his *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (the third and final part of his Septuaginta-Studien) showed that pp. 325–394 were untrustworthy in detail; and now that Messrs Brooke and M°Lean have reached the end of Chronicles, it should be clearly understood that Lagarde's text of the Octateuch should not be quoted in any circumstances whatever, and that it is perilous to cite it for Samuel, Kings, or Chronicles without first verifying the readings in the Cambridge apparatus. The remaining (and diminishing) value of the book is in its introduction, its texts of Esdras A and B, and especially the important edition of the double text of Esther on the last thirty-eight pages.

In the second of the Mitteilungen (1911) P. Glaue and Rahlfs edited some Giessen fragments in which Rahlfs recognized a Samaritan translation of Deuteronomy: in an appendix he demonstrated that a Geneva fragment (Δ_4 in Brooke-M°Lean, I, i) contains Samaritan verses of Genesis. In the same year Emil Grosse-Brauckmann published a study of Theodoret's text of the Psalter; and in 1913 W. Gerhäusser and Rahlfs edited some Munich fragments. In 1915 two important works appeared: *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche* by Rahlfs, and *Hexaplarische Randnoten zu Isaias 1–16 aus einer Sinai-Handschrift herausgegeben von Leonhard Lütkemann und Alfred Rahlfs.* In the first of these, Rahlfs gave a description of the basis of the Old Testament lectionary of the Greek church, with a list of lessons for the various festivals, in the Orthodox church, in Jerusalem, and among the Copts; he also

discussed the origin of the systems and added at the end a list of known lectionary codices. The second is the most important contribution to the study of the Hexapla since the publication of the Cairo fragments in 1897 and 1900. A small collection of *Kleine Mitteilungen*, containing editions of the Jerusalem palimpsest fragments of Sirach and Job and an interesting discussion *Quis sit ὁ Σύρος*, closed this first volume.

In the same year (1915) appeared volume II (dated 1914), a catalogue of the Greek MSS of the Old Testament. This valuable work of 470 pages is indispensable to all thorough inquiry into the Septuagint; but there is one point that deserves attention. The catalogue is of course neither exhaustive nor perfectly accurate; and when order has at last been produced in such a chaotic field, periodical lists of corrigenda and addenda should be published. The editor should regard it as part of his duty to keep this catalogue up to date, either in the Mitteilungen or in the Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, perhaps in the manner of von Dobschütz's articles in the Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

The third volume consists of three parts. In the first (1918) Rahlfs discussed the manuscripts of the Ethiopic version; but the main importance of the volume lies in the second and third parts. The former, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth* (1922), devotes 117 pages to this little book and is the most searching contribution ever made to the textual criticism of the Septuagint. The concluding part, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* by Martin Johannessohn (1925), is a monograph of 222 pages that should not be neglected by the New Testament student.

In 1928 appeared the first part of the fourth volume, *Paul de Lagardes wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk im Rahmen einer Geschichte seines Lebens dargestellt*, prepared by Rahlfs for the Lagarde centenary in 1927. From this number onwards the Mitteilungen are to appear in complete independence of the Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften; but as before they are published by Weidmann of Berlin.

Meanwhile various steps had been taken towards the publication of a critical text, which was to begin with the apocrypha in order not to repeat immediately the work that had been done on the earlier books at Cambridge. In July 1914 two specimen pages (1 Maccabees and Wisdom) of an editio maior were printed, and then the War scattered the workers, made it impossible either to visit foreign libraries or to secure photographs of manuscripts, and led to an economic crisis that made all idea of such an edition impossible.

It was decided to produce a manual edition, with a critical text and condensed apparatus based on all printed materials and all the photographs collected at Göttingen. In 1922 Der Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt in Stuttgart printed *Ruth* as a specimen, a little brochure of 28 pages that, with the simultaneous appearance of the *Studie* (Mitteilungen III, 2), definitely opened the new epoch in the century-long work on the Septuagint. Four years later appeared *Genesis* as Part I of the edition itself. In spite of the remarkably low cost of RM. 3.50, but little more than a quarter of the edition was sold, and the publishers had to withdraw from the enterprise. But fortunately renewed financial support has enabled Rahlfs and his assistants to resume their work on the larger edition. The whole work is to appear in sixteen parts with a total of about four thousand pages, and it is expected to be complete in about twenty years; the publishers are Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht of Göttingen.[2] The second half will be edited first; and during 1931 Part X, *Psalmi cum Odis*, has appeared in two instalments. The volume contains 80 pages of introduction, condensing, supplementing, and modifying the second part of the Septuaginta-Studien; the text and apparatus occupy 285 pages.

The relation to the original plan is not quite clear. Although the preface definitely states that this is to be regarded as the editio maior, it does not correspond with the program as given in Mitteilungen III, 2, pp. 149–163. One divergence is particularly to be regretted: Rahlfs had decided that in a special appa-

[2] Price, RM. 1.40 for each sixteen pages (Band X, RM. 32.20); or, if the whole work is subscribed for, RM. 1 for each sixteen pages (Band X, RM. 23).

ratus patristic quotations must appear in full with references, but this project has been abandoned. The reader will still have to turn to indexes in editions of the fathers before he can be certain of the exact significance of a quotation. But the edition is a model presentation of a biblical text. The Psalms are clearly printed in excellent type, and the apparatus is ingeniously compressed by a system of abbreviation that although troublesome at first soon commends itself as an admirably lucid picture of the evidence. Every page is marked by the industry and sobriety that appear in all the editor's work.[3]

In his Verzeichniss (1914) Rahlfs enumerated more than 900 Greek MSS of the Psalter; but most of these contain the late ecclesiastical text. He is undoubtedly right in thinking that there would be little benefit from the enormous work and delay that would be caused by the collation of this mass of material, and therefore accepts with discrimination the testimony of Holmes and Parsons (1823), who printed collations of about a hundred MSS of this group. For the rest of his material, however, he has used collations (for the most part his own) of manuscripts, photographs, or trustworthy editions. His work thus contains accurate information about sixty-five Greek MSS, two of which (LZ) have the common ecclesiastical text, and many of which are fragments containing only a few verses.[4] On another occasion I hope to publish corrections to his lists of fragments and a number of texts that he has overlooked (I shall use one of them later in this review).

Rahlfs's collations are very accurate:[5] in particular this edition first gives us a true knowledge of R, and it should be noted that this manuscript ought never again to be cited from Swete's apparatus. The versions are treated with admirable fulness and discretion; but I miss a reference to Dom Amelli's edition

[3] The printing is accurate. I have noticed Ps. ix. 22 n. θλιφει, x. 5 text εαυταν; p. 13, MS 2004, a letter has intruded from a wrong fount; p. 14, codex 2017, l. 2, read 65_2 (not 65_1); and a letter has dropped out of the page headings on pp. 134, 181, 202, 213, 250, 254, 340. The abbreviation for the Sexta (cxxxviii. 4) is not listed on p. 9.

[4] Of these, only four MSS and two fragments contain any portion of the Odes; with the addition of a few readings from La^R, Ga, Didascalia, and Constitutiones apostolorum, Rahlfs has produced an edition of the Odes that is useful, but hardly adequate.

[5] In xxix. 7 U has ειπα, not ειπον.

(1912) of the Monte Cassino Psalter, with its additional evidence for the hexaplaric text, and to the edition of the third Sa'idic Psalter by Worrell in University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series: "The Coptic MSS in the Freer Collection," Part I, New York, 1916. It is still more surprising to find that no use is made of Tyconius. He should be quoted in the following passages: ii. 7 $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ *eius* (= Ga); xlv. 3 *in cor maris* (= Ga); liv. 21 αυτου 1°] + *ei*; lxxi. 3 habet σου, et και οι βουνοι cum 3^1 iungit; lxxix. 15 om. και 2°; 16 om. $\overline{\alpha\nu\upsilon}$ ον; xc. 11 om. σε cod. Vaticanus*; 14 om. και; 15 *inuocabit me* (= επικαλεσεται με); 15 om. και paenult.; cii. 4 οικτιρμω; cxiii. 4 habet και; cxviii. 164 ηνεσα σοι] *laudabo te* cod. Vat. Tyconii et Eugippius, *laudem dixit tibi* cod. Remensis; cxix. 5 σκηνωματων] *tabernaculis* = Aug; 7 om. δωρεαν cod. Rem. (habent codd. Vat. et Modoetianus).

Burkitt has argued with great persuasiveness that in lxxix. 16 Tyconius alone preserves the original text of the LXX, and that ανθρωπου ον was added from verse 18 to make some kind of sense (The Book of Rules of Tyconius, pp. cxi-cxiii).

I turn now to the use that Rahlfs has made of his apparatus. In 1907 he divided his authorities into six groups, and these he now presents in an augmented form:

(1) From Lower Egypt:[6]	B S Bo 2008 2014 2019 2039 2042 2044 2049; also 2037 2051.
(2) From Upper Egypt:	U 2013 Sa; 1221 2009 2015 2017 2018 2033 2034 2035 2038 2046 2050 2052 and the excerpts 1093 1119 2032.
(3) Western:	R (gr. and lat.) La^G (= Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 11947) (Aug.).
(4) Hexaplaric:	2005 1098 'Psalterium Gallicanum,' Jerome's ep. ad Sunniam et Fretelam (Vulg.).
(5) Lucian:	Z T, about 100 MSS in Holmes and Parsons (grouped together as *L*, L^a, etc.), Theodoret, Syriac translation of Paul of Tella, Commentary of Hesychius of Jerusalem, Jerome's

[6] Rahlfs now makes no mention of Hesychius. He was not so discreet in 1907.

ep. ad Sunniam et Fretelam, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom; 1046 2040.

(6) In addition there are a number of mixed texts, and others that cannot be grouped — chiefly A 1219 55.

This array of evidence is impressive; but in fact it only takes us a short part of the way to our goal. A form of the Lucianic recension so occupied the field to the exclusion of other texts that our knowledge of the non-lucianic traditions is uncertain and often fragmentary. Apart from the fifth group we have very few Greek MSS that contain more than a small portion of the Psalter. We can form a rough picture of the text produced by Origen about A.D. 240, and of the texts current in the upper Nile valley, in the Nile delta, and the West at a slightly earlier date, and we have a rather better knowledge of the text produced in Syria about fifty years after Origen. But only in isolated cases can we go further back than the third century. Yet the Greek version of the Psalms was made before Christ, as we see for instance in the echoes in the Psalms of Solomon; and its continuous use in synagogue and church has left its mark on the text. All our witnesses are corrupt, and all are interpolated. Corruption is proved by such cases as lxxvii. 36, where ηγαπησαν of all our texts is nonsense and Grabe's ηπατησαν produces both sense and conformity with the Hebrew. The most obvious cases of interpolations affecting all extant authorities are doublets. In lxvii. 5 עלזו לפניו is translated twice, and in cxxxi. 4 the last two stichoi form a doublet. In xxxvi. 28 εις τον αιωνα φυλαχθησονται = לעולם נשמרו of the M.T., while ανομοι δε εκδιωχθησονται = עולים נשמדו (Rahlfs prefers to conjecture an original נצמתו for the verb — see c. 5, lxviii. 5 — as שמד is nowhere rendered by ἐκδιώκειν): the two stichoi are variants each preserving a part of the truth, עולים לעולם נשמדו. In xxviii. 1 a doublet occurs in all authorities except the hexaplaric 1098, and another in xvii. 36 except in 1098 and S. (Another doublet should, in my opinion, not have been printed. In lxxxvii. 6 חללים is represented by τραυματιαι ερριμμενοι, but the second word is omitted by Sa^{B*} Ga Aug *L* A–1219 and stands in a different position in R La^{R} La^{G}.

It is quite improbable that the omission of the word in the oldest manuscript of the Sa'idic, c. A.D. 400, is due to the influence of the vulgar text, for the whole tendency of MSS and versions is to stay at the vulgar level once they have reached it: we have then comparatively early and widespread evidence that ερριμενοι is a late insertion.) In cxxxiii. 1 a line from cxxxiv. 2 is found in all our MSS, although Jerome says that it was absent from the Hexapla.

Apparently no specifically Christian addition is found in all our authorities; but the group of quotations inserted after xiii. 3 from Romans iii. 13–18 is absent only from the Lucianic group; and the liturgical note αναστασεως to Psalm lxv is found in all authorities except S, although Theodoret states that it was not in the Hexapla.

Some Jewish liturgical notes form at first sight a more difficult problem. All authorities connect Psalm xxvi with the anointing of the high-priest, and all except some that are probably under hexaplaric influence assign Psalm xxviii to the last day of the feast of tabernacles. Further, Tamid vii. 3 names a psalm for each day of the week: 1st, Ps. xxiv; 2nd, Ps. xlviii; 3rd, Ps. lxxxii; 4th, Ps. xciv; 5th, Ps. lxxxi; 6th, Ps. xciii; sabbath, Ps. xcii (Hebrew numbering). The psalm for the sabbath is alone marked in the M. T.; those for the fourth and seventh days are specified in all LXX authorities; those for the first and second days are similarly marked in all except hexaplaric MSS; that for the sixth is also specified in all except hexaplaric authorities, but in some texts (including Sa) the note occurs in a different position; the psalm for the fifth day is so marked only in Sa La Aeth Arm; and that for the third day is not designated as such in any authority. Rahlfs hesitates to think that the better attested of these superscriptions were not found in the Hebrew original of the LXX, because Ps. xci is already assigned to the sabbath in the M.T., and Ps. xxix to the feast of dedication in both M.T. and LXX (which reproduces the apparently conflate text of the Hebrew in this title). But once it is realized that interpolations are found in all our LXX texts, the external evidence against three of these liturgical notes should carry the others with them. It would be erroneous to press the analogy of

the Peshitta psalm-titles, but it is a mistake to ignore it (see Isaac Prager, De Veteris Testamenti uersione Syriaca quam Peschittho uocant quaestiones criticae, Göttingen, 1875, pp. 61–66).

In these circumstances it is not surprising to find Messrs Brooke and M^{c}Lean once more stressing that "in the present state of LXX studies an edition of the LXX in the strict sense of the word is not yet possible" (Preface to the Octateuch, 1917, p. vi). Yet one has only to read a few pages of the Göttingen Psalter to realize that it was worth while to attempt to produce a form that is nearer to the original than either Swete or the other editions provide. The improvement is mainly in recension, but also in emendation.

Many unique readings of B and ℵ (S) are relegated to the foot of the page; but of more interest are the places where the versions suggest a slight change in the Greek text such as to produce agreement with the M.T. Thus in Ps. iv. 5 λεγετε replaces α λεγετε (which had led to conjectural emendation of both the Greek and the Hebrew). Other examples are iv. 8 καιρου for καρπου of the Greek MSS; xvii. 23 απεστησα for -στησαν; xxx. 16 καιροι for κληροι; xlvii. 10 ναου for λαου; ciii. 24 κτησεως for κτισεως. In xxxix. 7 ωτια is restored from the Latin in place of σωμα (from Heb. x. 5); and I have drawn attention above to Burkitt's advocacy of Tyconius's reading in lxxix. 16. An interesting grammatical correction is found at cxviii. 143, where all MSS read θλιψεις but all versions translate the singular θλιψις in agreement with M.T.

In lxi. 5 the apparatus is almost certainly wrong. For יִרְצוּ כָזָב all Greek MSS have εδραμον εν διψει, where the last word is correctly explained by Eusebius as a graphical error for ψευδει. Rahlfs quotes Eusebius, but prints ψευδει on the authority of Sa Sy. Our knowledge of the Sa'idic at this point is derived from three direct sources (the Sa'idic psalters published by Budge [c. A.D. 600; Sa^{L}], Lagarde [saec. ix–x: Sa^{Z}], and Peyron [saec. xiv: Sa^{T}]), and one indirect witness (the Graeco-Sa'idic fragments in B. N. copt. 129^{2}, saec. vii, not known to Rahlfs and quoted below as P: only the Greek text is extant at this point). Sa^{L} reads: *aupōt hi ousop h^{e}m pgol*: Rahlfs records the verb as

'concurrerunt Sa', and since *pgol* renders ψευδος in iv. 3, v. 7, he writes 'ψευδει Sa.' Both these are wrong. Sa^{Tz} both have the rendering of Sa^{L} but prefix *aupōt h^{e}n ṿeibe* 'I ran in thirst': P, however, has συνεδραμον εν διαψευσ[ματι]. This is clearly the original of Sa^{L} and the second half of the doublet in Sa^{Tz}. But διαψευσμα is certainly the rendering of Aquila, the only writer known to use the word.[7] These facts can only be explained in one way. The original Sa'idic rendered εδραμον εν διψει (wrongly translating the verb as first person singular); but in the archetype of all our Sa'idic authorities there was a marginal gloss representing or identical with συνεδραμον εν διαψευσματι. In an ancestor of SA^{Tz} this gloss was incorporated in the text; in an ancestor of Sa^{L} and P it ousted the original reading. At this point, therefore, all our Sa'idic authorities have been influenced by Aquila. (Where συνεδραμον came from is not clear: not directly from Aquila, who always translates רוץ by the simple τρέχειν and רצה by εὐδοκεῖν; probably from a corruption of a marginal α′ εδραμον into σ′ εδραμον, where σ′ was taken as the common abbreviation for συν.) I cannot prove that the Syriac is similarly dependent upon Aquila. But the word for 'in falsehood' here is *b^{e}dagalutha*, which translates not only the normal ψευδος elsewhere but also Aquila's διαψευσμα in cxv. 2. There is less difficulty in the supposition that here a drop from the marginal hexaplaric flow has splashed into the text, than in the theory that this representative of the vulgar family has alone preserved

[7] Aquila represents the root כזב by the stem διαψευδ-. The verb is rendered by διαψεύδεσθαι in Num. xxiii. 19, Job xli. 1, Ez. xiii. 19, Hab. ii. 3; the noun כָּזָב by διαψευσμα in Ps. lxi. 5, cxv. 2 (= Heb. cxvi. 11: teste Thdrt). I have noticed the following apparent exceptions in Field. Job. xxxiv. 6 אַכַּזָּב α′ σ′ θ′ (uel α′ σ′) ψευσμα, which cannot be from α′; and Proverbs xxiii. 3 לֶחֶם כְּזָבִים α′ θ′ αρτος ψευσματων (read σ′ θ′ comparing Job xxxiv. 6, Ps. lxi. 5). In Gen. xxxviii. 5 the proper name כְּזִיב was (according to Jerome) treated by Aquila as a verb, *ut mentiretur*, whence Field restores εψευσατο: read διεψευσατο. In Mic. i. 14 בָּתֵּי אַכְזִיב α′ οικους ψευδους (seu ψευσματος) is Field's retranslation of the Syriac, which has *b^{e}dagalutha* (= διαψευσμα Ps. lxi. 5, cxv. 2): rather διαψευσεως, a form found in Stob. ii. 7, 11. In Jer. xv. 18 כְּמוֹ אַכְזָב מִים α′ σ′ ως υδωρ εκλειπον cannot be from Aquila. Ψευδος is Aquila's rendering of שׁקר; hence he cannot have translated Is. xxviii. 15 כָּזָב by ψευδος, as Field supposes, nor Ez. xxii. 28 כזב by ψευδος, as Hatch and Redpath quote from Pitra's Spicilegium Solesmense iii. In Ps. cxix. 2 α′ σ′ απο χειλους ψευδοῦς the accentuation should be ψεύδους for α′ at least, see Ps. xxx. 19, Prov. x. 18.

the true reading. Thus the correct reading has vanished from every line of the tradition, and has been preserved only in the comment of Eusebius.

I have given instances where the versions suggest a slight correction that brings the text into agreement with the M.T. Similar corrections may occasionally be made from a few Greek MSS, most frequently on the authority of a few MSS supported by versions. At xlv. 6 το προς πρωι, which Rahlfs thinks is the true text, is found in 2013 Sa; in lxvii. 9 τουτο σινα is read only by B^c Bo 55 (2047); and in ci. 27 αλλαξεις only by S La Ga Tert. Again, at lxxvii. 31 εν τοις πιοσιν is preserved only by Jerome's quotation from the Hexapla. In other cases more violent deviations from the M.T. are corrected from manuscripts or versions when the common reading can have been intruded from some other passage: xxxi. 5 αμαρτιας Ga Tht Sy] καρδιας rel.; lviii. 12 λαου μου Ga Hi] νομου σου (ex cxviii. 61) uel ονοματος σου (ex xliii. 21) rel.; lxxvii. 71 λαον Sa 1093 Psalt. Rom.] δουλον rel. (ex 70). In xlvii. 3 Rahlfs prints εὖ ῥιζῶν (uel εὑριζῶν), rightly I think, with Thdrt. Chrys. and Ga against the εὑρίζων of the other versions or manuscripts.

Such corrections of the text for the most part justify themselves; it is when we get beyond this limited area of small changes to produce conformity with the M.T. that we call upon Rahlfs to give a more comprehensive account of his principles of recension. This he does with admirable lucidity on pp. 71 f. Of the six groups of authorities mentioned on pp. 63 f. above, he thinks that the first three are the oldest, and he has worked by the following rules: (*a*) he generally accepts readings on which these three groups agree; (*b*) if they differ among themselves, he regularly chooses the reading that agrees with the M.T., since the older authorities often agree with the Hebrew against the later MSS; (*c*) if the older authorities depart from the M.T. while the younger ones agree with it, he follows the former and sees deliberate correction to the Hebrew in the latter; (*d*) in doubtful cases he follows BℵA, but not B standing alone.

This is clearly walking by faith and not by sight: we can touch no stage in the history of the text when correction to the Hebrew was not practised, and we have already seen instances

of apparently genuine readings preserved in single manuscripts, versions, or even fathers. It is here that future criticism will have most to accomplish, although Rahlfs has probably been wise in controlling subjectivity by mechanical rules until scholars have had time to study the full apparatus that he here presents to them for the first time. But I wish to enter a caveat. The main feature in Rahlfs's principles of recension is the low value assigned to the Lucianic recension. Now, while it is undoubtedly true that the ecclesiastical text is a later production than either the Egyptian or the Western text, and that Lucian appears to have assimilated his recension to the M.T., using the Hexapla in the process, it is certain that in his text we have an ancient element which often is not preserved elsewhere. It is unlikely that in the church's hymn-book Lucian should carry through such a radical revision as he could elsewhere accomplish. Rahlfs has always admitted that Lucian may have used a Syrian text that differed from those current in other districts, but he has consistently depreciated the value of the recension.

The following indications of an ancient element in 'Lucian' should not be forgotten. (*a*) In 1913 Capelle showed that 'Lucianic elements' were present in Tertullian's text of the Psalter. This observation should probably be extended into the statement that Lucian contains a strain of readings found elsewhere in the oldest texts of remote localities: e.g. xix. 8 *μεγαλυνθησομεθα*] *επικαλεσομεθα* Luc., inuocabimus Ga et Tert. et Cyp.; xxvi. 6 *αλαλαγμου*] *αινεσεως* U Sa, *αινεσεως και αλαλαγμου* Luc. (*b*) Codex 2054 (P. Alex. 240) has the following agreements with Luc. against all other witnesses: lxxvii. 7 *εκζητησουσιν*]-*σωσιν* Luc. 2054; 8 *αυτης* 1°] *εαυτης* Luc. 2054 (habet *εαυτης* etiam in 8^4, *εαυτων* in 5^4); 10 *ηθελον*] *ηβουληθησαν* Luc. 2054 (et 55); 13 *εστησεν*] pr. *παρ* Luc. 2054. This papyrus was written in Egypt more than half a century before Lucian made his recension in Syria. (*c*) We know that in the historical books Lucian preserves readings that are at least as primitive as the first century, for they are found in Josephus; similarly the evidence of New Testament quotations suggests an equally early date for some readings in the Psalms. Rahlfs refuses to consider the New Testament evidence on the ground that we can never be sure on

which side the borrowing may lie. This is strictly true; but if a New Testament quotation varies markedly from all known LXX manuscripts, agreement in some trivial point is probably not due to New Testament influence, especially if the minute agreement occurs over a wide geographical field. When therefore Matt. xxvii. 43 quotes Ps. xxi. 9 with several important deviations from the LXX (which leave no trace of assimilation in the LXX apparatus), I consider that Rahlfs is quite unjustified in writing "οτι] ει Bo U–Sa–1221 Luc^{pau}: ex Matth. xxvii. 43." In Ps. ii. 9, Rahlfs printed ως σκευος κεραμεως συντριψεις αυτους corresponding to כְּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תְּנַפְּצֵם. The only variants are the addition of και at the beginning of the line by some Latin authorities (and A) and σκευη for σκευος in Sa Luc. A. With the latter reading Rahlfs compares the variants σκευει σκευεσιν in Ps. lxx. 22; but the quotation in Rev. ii. 26, ως τα σκευη τα κεραμικα συντριβεται, suggests that a Greek version with the noun in the plural may have been current as early as the first century. This is confirmed by Ps. Sol. xvii. 26, where we read ως σκευη κεραμεως εν ραβδω σιδηρα συντριψαι κ.τ.λ.; the Greek version of these Psalms was certainly influenced by the translator's use of the LXX, and the translation was probably made at the close of the pre-christian era. (In Ps. Sol. iii. 6, οθεν ηξει is possibly due to the Lucianic reading in Ps. cxx. 1, where all other manuscripts and versions read ποθεν.) (*d*) There are places where Lucian has preserved readings that are intrinsically superior to those of the other manuscripts. To avoid any suspicion of picking and choosing I stress five passages where Rahlfs is constrained to admit that Lucian is right and the others wrong: xv. 8 προωρωμην Luc.] προορ rel.; xxxii. 15 ο συνιεις εις παντα τα εργα αυτων Luc.] om. εις rel. (excidit post -εις); xxxix. 3, lxviii. 3 ιλυος et ιλυν Luc.] υλεως et υλην rel.; lxxxviii. 20 οσιοις Luc^{pau} sanctis Ga Hi = M.T.] υιοις rel. The support of Ga Hi in the last instance suggests that οσιοις may have been derived from the Hexapla; but in the other cases this is not evidently or necessarily so. For there are places where Lucian agrees with a few other MSS against even the Hexaplaric authorities: for instance, with B, lxxvii. 6 απαγγελουσιν] αν- Hi rel.; with Bo La^{R} et alii Latini, cv. 12 ησαν] ηνεσαν Ga rel.; with

U Sa, xxvi. 9 αποσκορακισης . . . εγκαταλιπης] εγκαταλιπης . . . υπεριδης Ga etc. (in each of these cases Rahlfs adopts Lucian's reading). In almost all these cases the superiority of Lucian is graphically slight, but it must be remembered that Rahlfs's principles of recension will not allow him to print in his text any widely divergent readings that rest only on the authority of Lucian. It appears to me that a witness that is faithful in small things is worthy of greater credence in greater things than Rahlfs is willing to bestow. Why do only Lucian and A (doubtless here as elsewhere under Syrian influence) omit the Pauline catena after xiii. 3? It is present in all known texts from Upper and Lower Egypt and the West, and neither Origen nor Rahlfs has removed it from the text; it is so widespread that they only venture to mark it with obeloi and brackets. Would Lucian have done more than Ga, which copies the obelus from the Hexapla, unless he had been working with a Syrian text that omitted the accretion? The fact that at this point the Syriac version of Paul of Tella deserts Lucian and agrees with the other families shows the strength of the tendency to add or retain this Pauline passage.

No more important piece of work remains to be done on the Greek text of the Psalms than the disentanglement of the ancient element in the Lucianic text and the estimation of its value. We must hope that Cambridge will provide us with trustworthy collations of representative MSS that will enable us to carry the work at least a stage further.

If Rahlfs is sober in recension, in emendation he is almost a total abstainer. If I have counted correctly, in 260 pages he only admits thirteen conjectures into his text and mentions eight in his apparatus. All the accepted changes are very slight. Once a stroke is deleted above the final letter of a word (xxi. 18, εξηριθμησα] -σαν MSS), once such a stroke is added (lviii. 5 κατευθυναν] -να MSS); iota is inserted twice (lxiv. 4 ανομιων] ανομων MSS; lxviii. 27 τραυματιων σου] τραυματων μου MSS) and deleted once (xlviii. 10 εκοπασεν] εκοπιασεν MSS); and, in addition to lxviii. 27 just mentioned, a letter is changed in two passages (lxxiii. 8 κατακαυσωμεν] καταπαυσ. MSS; lxxvii. 36 ηπατησαν] ηγαπησαν MSS). The greatest changes are xxix. 12 χορον] χαραν

MSS; lxxvii. 54 *οριον*] *οροs* MSS; and cxxxvii. 2 *λογιον*] *αγιον* MSS. These ten emendations are due to Grabe (Lagarde independently corrected xxix. 12); and all, except lxxiii. 8, bring the Greek text into agreement with the M.T. In lxxiii. 8, where approximate agreement with the Hebrew is reached, the conjecture has the support of the Holmes-Parsons collation of a MS now lost; and some of the other emendations are supported by α', σ', θ', or ϵ'. The three remaining conjectures are due to the editor: xxi. 32 *οτι* = M.T.] *ον* MSS; xli. 9 *ωδη* = שֵׁירָה] *ωδη αυτου* (= M.T. שֵׁירֹה) uel *ωδη αυτω* uel *δηλωσει* MSS; cxviii. 33 *η* = *he* R] *ηπ* Sa, *heth* La^{G}. Grabe and Lagarde are equal in honorable mention at the foot of the page: Grabe vii. 14 *εαυτω* for *εν αυτω*, cxviii. 28 *εσταξεν* for *ενυσταξεν* (*εστεναξεν* 2018), cxxxviii. 20 *ερει σε* for *ερεις* (*ερειτε*, *εριστε*, *εστε*); Lagarde xv. 8 *προεθεμην* for *προωρωμην* (*προορ.*), xv. 11 *πλήρωσις* for *πληρωσεις με*, xxi. 3 *ησυχια* (or *ευθηνια*) for *εις ανοιαν*. The other two conjectures mentioned are Nestle's *νεκρων* for *εχθρων* at xvi. 13, and Semler's *ανεσιν* for *ανοιαν* at xxi. 3.

Few will believe that this is all the part conjecture has to play in the restoration of the text. Mention might have been made of Delitzsch's *εκσπαστης* at lxx. 6; and the production of conformity to the M.T. in lxxviii. 9 by the supposition that *κυριε* is a wrong expansion of *και* (written *κε*) is plausible.[8] Much remains to be done, and thanks to Rahlfs the field is white to the harvest.

He must be congratulated on the production of a book that not only carries the study of the Greek Psalter a long step forward, but must for many years form the foundation of all work in that field.

[8] It is tempting to correct xciii. 8 *ποτε φρονήσατε* into *πότε φρονήσετε* (= M.T.). The imperative at the beginning of the verse would both aid the corruption and prevent subsequent correction. (It is impossible to take the manuscript text as future; *-α* is found in the imperfect very occasionally before saec. ii A.D., but not in the future.)

NOTES

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE MOTE AND THE BEAM

(Matt. vii. 3–5; Luke vi. 41–42)

In the Expository Times for November 1927 Dean C. A. Webster revived an explanation of the saying of Jesus on the mote and the beam made by Karl Furrer (Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, 1890). Furrer held that we have in the saying of the mote and the beam an incorrect Greek translation of an Aramaic word which signified both 'eye' and 'well,' and that the Greek translator made a mistake and chose the former instead of the latter meaning. Webster offers an argument in support of this contention, which, again, is combatted by P. L. Hedley in the Expository Times for June 1928.

In an article, 'The Mote and the Beam,' published in the Harvard Theological Review, October 1924, I endeavored to show that the correct reading of the often quoted parallel to Matt. 7, 3–5 and Luke 6, 41. 42 from 'Arakin 16b and Baba Batra 15b is מבין שיניך . . . טול קורה מבין עיניך טול קיסם ('Remove the splinter from between your teeth [instead of the other reading, 'eyes'] . . . Remove the beam from between your eyes'). My conclusion was that

> the figure in 'Arakin 16b and Baba Batra 15b presents a parallel to that of Matt. 7, 3–5 in general idea only. In Matthew the mote and the beam are *in* the eye, and the beam must be removed before the critic can see clearly to take the mote out of the other's eye. The contrast of the mote and the beam seems to have been proverbial, but is differently expressed and applied.

The suggestion I now make occurred to me at that time, but I was not then prepared to work it out.

That suggestion is that Jesus' original saying must have been similar to the Talmudic one, if indeed he did not, to impress more strongly upon his hearers some remarks on 'judging,' make use of a proverbial saying perfectly well-known to them, the common element of which was the same as that of the Talmudic texts. The reason which prompted this suggestion was the same as that of Furrer cited by Webster, namely, the difficulty of conceiving that a man with a splinter in his eye would have to be reminded to remove it. To quote Furrer:

Remarkable that a man, through his neighbor, should be first reminded of the fact that he has a splinter in his eye! And that he who pulls the splinter out of the eye should deserve blame! Does not even a grain of dust smart the eye? and are we not thankful to him who draws the smallest splinter out of the eye? What business has a beam in the eye? Where is the concrete similarity which characterizes the figurative language of Jesus?

This is neither hyperbole nor paradox such as we find in some other sayings of Jesus.[1] The situation to which the precept relates is simply meaningless.

The proverb which lies behind the discourse in Matt. 7, 3–5 and Luke 6, 41. 42 is: ἔκβαλε τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου . . . ἔκβαλε τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου. The original in the Hebrew sources is: טול קורה מבין עיניך . . . טול קיסם מבין שיניך. It is true that Jesus spoke Aramaic, but it might well be that in quoting a well-known proverb he gave it in the form in which it has been preserved in rabbinical literature. In any event, the difference between late Hebrew and Aramaic would here be slight.

We come now to the translation of this material from Aramaic into Greek made, we will suppose, by one not too familiar with the Aramaic of his source. The first difficulty of a translator would be with מבין. In my article I stated that "the phrase מבין is not happily translated by 'out of,' but more rightly and naturally by 'from between'." That is true, but nevertheless מבין is translated in the Septuagint by ἐκ μέσου (Num. 17, 2, Hosea 2, 4, and elsewhere); by ἀνὰ μέσον (Exod. 25, 22 and elsewhere); and in one instance simply by ἐκ (Gen. 49, 10), according as the translators interpreted the Hebrew original. With respect to Gen. 49, 10: "The sceptre (שבט) shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff (מחקק) from between his feet," the translator misunderstood the verse and interpreted מחקק as ἡγούμενος 'ruler,' and so took מבין רגליו in a way which made ἐκ inevitable, ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ 'from his thighs,' after Deut. 28, 57. Yet this leaves also the possibility open that a translator, attempting to put into Greek the proverb as he understood it, might very well translate מבין as ἐκ.

Coming now to שיניך (which might be, and indeed probably was, written as שניך), the word could easily be mistaken for עיניך, especially if the left-hand arm of ש were written lightly. An examination of any Hebrew manuscript will reveal this possibility. This reading would be aided by the decision to translate מבין as ἐκ, since

[1] See Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts, p. 148 note.

'eye' would be a more natural noun to go with the latter than 'teeth.' Reading the word as עיניך, the translator could see no meaning in, 'remove the splinter from your *eyes*,'[2] and so obviated the difficulty by using the singular, just as Buxtorf and others overcome the difficulty of the plural in the rabbinical sources by invariably translating it as a singular.

It might be added that the fact that עיניך appears in the second half of the proverb, along with the same preposition, may have aided in the identification of שנים as עינים. I would hazard the conjecture that the same tendency may explain the equation of the two halves of the proverb in some readings of the rabbinical sources.

Since עין had been translated as a singular in the first clause, it only remained to translate it similarly in the second.

Another instance of a possible confusion between שן and עין may be seen in Job 16, 9: "He hath torn me in his wrath, and persecuted me; he hath gnashed upon me with his teeth (בשניו): mine adversary sharpeneth his eyes (עיניו) upon me."[3] The third element in this verse looks superfluous or out of place and commentators have offered many and varied explanations to remove the difficulty it presents. The figure is a poor one, for it seems to say that he sharpened his eyes. J. M. P. Smith in the "American Translation" offers a striking rendering, "he looks daggers at me"; but this is more ingenious than convincing. The verb in the clause under discussion clearly bears the meaning, 'sharpen, whet,' and takes the accusative (cf. Ps. 7, 13; 1 Sam. 13, 20). Ball in his commentary on the Book of Job takes the view that this third part of the verse is simply a corrupt repetition of the second. In that case עיניו is merely a corruption of שניו. This is at least a very possible explanation.

If this conjecture of mistranslation be accepted, Matt. 7, 3 and Luke 6, 41 would read, following the rabbinical illustrations of the proverb, "And why beholdest thou the splinter that is between thy brother's teeth, but considerest not the beam that is between thine eyes?" The proverb may have had its origin under some such circumstances as recounted by Edels;[4] at any rate, the 'splinter' represents a slight sin or fault, while the 'beam' stands for a serious sin or a great fault. The proverb would be well known to Jesus' hearers, and what is here suggested removes the objection I have stated.

[2] See Harvard Theological Review, October 1924, p. 397.

[3] I am indebted to Professor W. A. Irwin, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, for calling my attention to this passage.

[4] See my article, p. 401.

A real difficulty with respect to the solution offered is of course presented by the verses that follow in Matthew, namely 7, 4–5:

> Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me cast out the mote out of thine eye; and lo, the beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye [so also Luke 6, 42].

That difficulty can only be removed by thinking of Matt. 7, 1–3 and Luke 6, 37. 38b. 41 as comprising the substance of Jesus' original teaching on judging. The other verses contain an enlargement of his teaching, based on a mistranslation of the saying he quoted, which may well have taken place in the Greek synagogue.

I. Abrahams, in his essay on 'The Freedom of the Synagogue' (*Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, First Series), suggests an association of certain discourses of Jesus with the cycle of synagogal lessons which may well have been in vogue in the days of Jesus. This would support a very early connection of the discourses with the Christian service. The hypothesis might be offered that Q, whether a writing or only a stratum, contains, after the manner of the Jewish midrashim, something of the traditional teaching of the Christian synagogue, and in its Greek development, that being in its turn based on a genuine nucleus of Jesus' teaching. Streeter (The Four Gospels, p. 232) goes far toward supporting this as a theory. Commenting on the character of Q, he says:

> The source Q, with which the student of the Synoptic Problem is concerned, is a *Greek* document which the authors of the First and Third Gospels had in common, and the fact that this Greek document was known to the authors of both these Gospels means that it probably came to them with the backing of some important Greek city. But that is no reason why it may not have been a translation of an Aramaic work by Matthew — possibly with some amplification from local tradition.

This last qualification leaves room for amplification of Jesus' teaching, and where would that take place more naturally than in the synagogue? Wherever in synagogal discourses or in Christian gatherings of any kind reference was made to Jesus' teaching, followed by comment thereon — after the pattern of the Jewish synagogue with its Scripture reading followed by a discourse (see Luke 4, 16–21), it would be a natural and inevitable development for the distinction between saying and comment shortly to be lost sight of and the two alike finally accepted as from Jesus. I suggest that this is what happened with the passage under discussion.

George Brockwell King

United Colleges,
Winnipeg, Manitoba

BOOKS RECEIVED

CHAPEL READINGS. *Edited by Arthur E. Brown.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. ix, 310. $3.00.

THE MOUNT OF VISION. *By William Muir Auld.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. viii, 197. $2.00.

MODERN WORSHIP AND THE PSALTER. *By Earle Bennett Cross.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. viii, 257. $2.00.

OUTLINES OF TEACHING SERMONS FOR A YEAR. *Edited by C. E. Hudson.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. 110. $1.25.

CHRISTIAN OUTLINES; an Introduction to Religion. *By Cyril Alington.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. 132. $1.25.

THE LITERARY LIFE OF THE EARLY FRIENDS, 1650–1725. *By Luella M. Wright.* With an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. New York, Columbia Press, 1932. Pp. xiv, 309. $3.00.

THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. *By Ernest Findlay Scott.* (Records of Civilization, Vol. XV.) New York, Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xiii, 312. $3.00.

RESPONSIBILITY: its Development through Punishment and Reward. *By Laurence Sears.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. ix, 198. $2.50.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF RELIGION TO SOCIAL WORK. *By Reinhold Niebuhr.* The Forbes lectures of the New York School of Social Work. New York, Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp.x, 103. $2.00.

RELIGION IN VARIOUS CULTURES. *By Horace L. Friess, Herbert W. Schneider.* New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1932. Pp. xxii, 586. $5.00.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION. *By Paul Tillich.* Translated by H. Richard Niebuhr. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1932. Pp. xxv, 182. $1.50.

CHRISTIANITY. *By Edwyn Bevan.* (Home University Library.) New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1932. Pp. 240. $1.25.

BOOK OF COMMON WORSHIP, for Use in the several Communions of the Church of Christ; including the Psalter and Prayers for Use in Colleges, the Family and for personal Devotion. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1932. Pp. x, 341. $1.50.

TOWER LEGENDS. *Retold by Bertha Palmer Lane.* Illustrated by Rosamond Lane Lord. Boston, The Beacon Press, Inc., 1932. Pp. xi, 142. $2.00.

OUR CONCERN WITH THE THEOLOGY OF CRISIS: the fundamental Aspects of the dialectical Theology associated with the Name of Karl Barth appreciatively presented as our possible Theology with the Query whether it be not our only positive possibility. *By Walter Lowrie.* The Bohlen lectures for 1932. Boston, Meador Publishing Co., 1932. Pp. 214. $2.00.

THE FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Report of the fourteenth annual Meeting, Carey, Ohio, June 30th, July 1st, 2nd, 1932. Published by the Conference. Office of the Secretary, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. Pp. xl, 135.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL. Vol. VIII–IX. Cincinnati, 1931–32. Pp. 746. $3.00.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart; Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. 2. Aufl. Registerband bearbeitet *von Oskar Rühle.* Tübingen, J. C. E. Mohr, 1932. 896 columns. 26 marks.

Theölogisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Hrsg. von Gerhard Kittel. Lieferungen 1–6. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1932. Subscription price, each Lieferung, 2.90 marks.

Christentum und Sexualethik: eine Auseinandersetzung mit Gegenwartsfragen. *By Rud. Frz. Merkel.* (Aus der Welt der Religion, Religionswissenschaftliche Reihe, Heft 19.) Giessen. Töpelmann, 1932. Pp. 47. 1.60 marks.

Studien zur Älteren Entwicklung der Abendländischen Trinitatslehre bei Tertullian und Novatian. Inaugural-Dissertation, Marburg. *By Martin Kriebel.* 1932. Pp. x, 102.

De Sancti Eustathii Episcopi Antiocheni Dicendi Ratione. Dissertatio inauguralis. *By Wilhelmine Brockmeier.* Typis Roberti Noske Bornensis, 1932. Pp. vi, 143.

Das Problem der Urkirche in der Neueren Forschung; eine kritische Darstellung. Inaugural-Dissertation. *By Olof Linton.* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1932. Theologi 2.) Uppsala, Lundequistska Bokhandeln. Pp. xxxii, 211. 7.50 kr.

Autour du Décret de 1210. III. Amaury de Bène; étude sur son panthéisme formel. *By G. C. Capelle.* (Bibliothèque Thomiste, XVI.) Paris, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1932. Pp. 118. 18 francs.

Monumenta Historica S. P. N. Dominici. Fasc. I. Historia diplomatica S. Dominici. *Recensuit M.-Hyacinthus Laurent.* (Monumenta Ordinis F. Praedicatorum historica, Tomus. XV.) Paris, Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1933. Pp. 198.

L Esprit de la Philosophie Médiévale. *By Étienne Gilson.* Gifford Lectures, University of Aberdeen. Deuxième série. Paris, Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1932. Pp. 297. 32 francs.

Emmaüs, Sa Basilique et Son Histoire. *By L.-H. Vincent et F.-M. Abel.* Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1932. Pp. xv, 442, and 27 plates.

L'Église et la Rémission des Péchés aux Premiers Siècles. *By Paul Galtier.* (Bibliothèque de Théologie historique.) Paris, Beauchesne, 1932. Pp. xii, 511. 34 francs.

Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident, depuis les fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien. Tome I, II. Paris, Recueil Sirey, 1931, 1932. 220 francs.

Où en est le Problème de Jésus? *By François-Marie Braun.* Bruxelles, Éditions de la Cité Chrétienne, 1932. Pp. 412. 36 fr. belges.

L'Éducation Chrétienne de la Personnalité. *By Jean Dermine.* Bruxelles, Editions de la Cité Chrétienne, 1932. Pp. 241. 20 fr. belges.

Manuale Theologiae Moralis. *Auctore Ludovico Wouters.* Tomus I. Brugis, Carolus Beyaert, 1932. Pp. xv, 855.

Note Ebraiche. *By Ign. Guidi.* Roma, 1927. Pp. 26.

La Filosofia de la Libertad en las Controversias Teologicas del Siglo XVI y Primera Mitad del XVII. *By Alberto Bonet.* Barcelona, Imprenta Subirana, 1932. Pp. 293.